DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 258 470 FL 015 098

AUTHOR	Pfannkuche, Anthony; And Others
TITLE	Training to Teach a Foreign Language. Principles of Second Language Acquisition: An Orientation for Foreign Language Teachers.
INSTITUTION	Center for Applied Linguistics, Arlington, Va.
SPONS AGENCY	Bureau of Postsecondary Education (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C. Div. of International Education.
PUB DATE	Aug 79
GRANT	G007801861
NOTE	184p.; For related documents, see FL 015 097-099.
PUB TYPE	Guides - Classroom Use - Guides (For Teachers) (052)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Learning; Class Activities; Classroom Techniques; Course Organization; *Inservice Teacher Education; Interlanguage; Language Teachers; Learning Experience; *Learning Processes; Neurological Organization; *Program Design; *Second Language Instruction; *Second Language Learning; Second Language Programs; *Student Attitudes; Success; Teaching Guides; Transfer of Training

ABSTRACT

The manual designed to accompany a seminar for teachers concerning some of the central issues in contemporary foreign language teaching and focusing on how adults go about acquiring language includes materials for five sessions, in three sections. The first section covers language learning and acquisition in general, and contains a survey of the participants' foreign language learning experiences, an introduction, and two readings on transfer of knowledge from first language acquisition. The second section focuses on the language learner and the world, and includes a classroom activity on thinking about learning a foreign language, an introduction, three readings on affective factors in second language acquisition, and three essays on what can be learned from the "good language learner." The third section, addressing second language acquisition and teaching, includes a class activity for designing the ideal language program, a demonstration of structure drills, and six readings in which teachers talk about acquisition, learning, and language learning. (MSE)

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TRAINING TO TEACH A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Principles of Second Language Acquisition
an Orientation for Foreign Language Teachers

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Center for Applied Linguistics
Arlington, VA
August 1979

FL015098

The development of these materials was supported under a grant G007801861 from the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, under the authority of Title VI, section 602, NDEA. However, the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the Office of Education, and no official endorsement by the U.S. Office of Education should be inferred.

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* Permission to reprint the previously published materials in this manual have been sought from the publishers. Reprint permissions were denied in some instances, and are thus not included in the body of the manual. However, they are noted with full bibliographical information in their proper order.

INTRODUCTION

This is an orientation program for foreign language teachers. In the program we will review recent work by researchers and language teachers on some of the central issues in contemporary foreign language teaching. Our concern will be the question of how adults go about acquiring the ability to communicate in a second language. What are the processes which underlie our acquisition of a foreign language? We will explore the implications of recent research for classroom language teachers.

There will be five training sessions in this program. Each session will deal with an important aspect of language acquisition. In the first session we will review the processes human beings use when they acquire their native language. Acquiring a foreign language has important similarities to native language acquisition, and we will examine these in the second session. Many researchers now believe that adults continue to have access to the underlying processes of native language acquisition when they develop proficiency in a foreign language. In the third session we will look at some of the social and psychological factors that affect every learner in the study of a foreign language. The fourth session will focus on studies of the "good language learner", how very successful learners approach language study, and what strategies and techniques they employ.

The last session will be concerned with the practical implications of this research. There will be demonstrations and discussions of teaching methods that experienced teachers have found effective. This session will be one of experience-sharing and reflection on the methods and goals of foreign language teaching.

The training program has several elements. Each of the five training sessions is supported by materials that are contained in this Manual. Here you will find a detailed outline and a summary of the training presentation. In addition, there are supplementary resource readings that have been selected to accompany the training. These essays and articles by prominent scholars and teachers reflect general trends in recent research. Your trainer will make specific assignments from the selected readings. Finally, there are several questionnaires which have been developed to help you focus on aspects of your experience as a foreign language teacher and learner. The questionnaires will help you participate in discussions during the training.

The goals of the orientation program are these:

- to review recent research on language acquisition, the language learner, and language teaching
- to explore the implications of research for solving problems that teachers face in the foreign language classroom
- to provide a context for analyzing the goals and methods of foreign language teaching
- to offer an opportunity for language teachers to share their experience as teachers and learners

This brief training program is intended as an orientation to some of the basic issues in foreign language study. The program is based on the recent work of many scholars, researchers, and classroom teachers who have studied how adults acquire the ability to communicate in a foreign language. This training reflects a broad synthesis of recent research studies. It pays particular interest to describing the processes which are thought to underlie the acquisition of a language. A better understanding of the principles of second language acquisition should help teachers to discover effective ways of fostering their students' capacity to acquire a foreign language.

HOW TO USE THIS MANUAL

This Manual supplements and extends the training you are going to receive. It will serve as a guide to the training Sessions, and it includes additional Activities and Readings that introduce the issues your trainer will discuss with you.

The Manual contains a guide to the training sessions: an overall Seminar Plan, and detailed Outline of each session. (Your trainer may not follow the Outlines in every detail, but the general plan of topics will be observed.)

Several Activities are included in the Manual. These are an essential part of the training, and it is important for you to prepare each Activity for the appropriate training Session.

Finally, the Manual contains a number of selected Readings, articles and essays by some leading language researchers and teachers. The Readings were chosen to give you a sense of the trends in current thinking about language learning and language teaching. Most of the Readings are written in non-technical language and are intended for the general reader -- learners and teachers. Your trainer will indicate which of the Readings are particularly important, and will make assignments for each Session.

The Manual has been designed to be used along with the training Sessions. This is how it works.

Session I. Before you attend the first Session you should fill out the form, "Foreign Language Learning Experience: A Survey", which is included in the Manual (pp. 15-19). Your trainer will lead a discussion of your previous language learning experiences, based on this survey. Review the Outline for Session I (p. 8). This Session will primarily cover materials contained in the article by Arlene Moskowitz, "The Acquisition of Language," which you may wish to read in preparation for the training.

Session II. This Session treats the question of how adults learn a foreign language. Review the Outline (p. 9). The Readings for this discussions are somewhat technical. Your trainer will review the major issues during the presentation, but you may find it useful to scan the articles rapidly before the session and then read them more carefully afterwards. (Again, your trainer will make specific assignments.)

__Session__ __III__. You will be asked once again to fill out a questionnaire in preparation for this discussion in this Session, "Thinking about Learning a Foreign Language." (pp. 52-55). This Session deals with individual learning experiences (see the Outline, p. 10). The article by John and Francine Schumann, "Diary of a Language Learner" focusses on the everyday problems of language learning. The other Readings are more theoretical, and your trainer may treat them as additional supplementary resources.

__Session__ __IV__. Research on the "good language learner" is the topic of this Session. Review the Outline, (p. 11). Two of the articles in the Readings are reports of an important research project (Naiman et al., pp. 94-104, and Stern, pp. 105-120). The third article reflects the experiences of an insightful language teacher, Joan Rubin. In the discussion, your trainer will review these articles, and will ask you to consider whether you consider yourself to be a "good language learner".

__Session__ __V__. The final Session explores practical implications of the issues that have been discussed so far. Review the Outline, p. 12. There are two Activities associated with this Session, and you should prepare both of them in order to participate fully in the discussion and demonstrations. The first Activity will be based on the questionnaire, "Designing an Ideal Language Program." The second Activity will be a demonstration of classroom teaching techniques. In preparation you should briefly outline three types of structure drills, based on the description of structural pattern drills in Christina Paulston's article (pp. 154-160). Several of the Readings in this section present controversial responses to recent language acquisition research, especially Terrell's "A Natural Approach" (pp. 161-173), and Krashen's "Language Learning Buttons" (pp. 174-175). Your own response will be an important part of this Session. Based on your experience as a language learner __and__ a language teacher, and taking into account the material presented in this Seminar, what do you think are effective approaches to language teaching?

PRINCIPLES OF SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION:
AN ORIENTATION FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHERS

Seminar Plan

PART ONE: *Language Learning and Language Acquisition*

There are two ways for adults to internalize the linguistic rules of a second language: language *learning*, which involves conscious focussing on formal linguistic rules, and language *acquisition*, the internal development of tacit intuitions about language.

Activity: Survey of Foreign Language Learning Experience

First Session: *The First Language: How Children Learn to Speak*

Children learn to speak in a highly methodical way: they break the speech they hear into its simplest parts, and they develop the rules they need to put the parts together. At first the rules are very general, and gradually grow more specific.

Sourcebook Readings:

Moskowitz, Breyne Arlene. "The Acquisition of Language." *Scientific American*. 239, 5 (November 1978): 92-108.

Geschwind, Norman. "Language and the Brain." *Scientific American*. 226, 4 (April 1972): 76-83.

Second Session: *Is Second Language Learning like the First?*

Although there are many differences between child and adult language learning, there are important similarities which have implications for foreign language teaching. Adult learners continue to have access to child-like language acquisition strategies.

Sourcebook Readings:

Corder, S. Pit. "The Significance of Learners' Errors." *IRAL*, 5 (1967): 161-170.

Dulay, Heidi C., and Marina K. Burt. "Creative Construction in Second Language Learning and Teaching," in *Language Learning*, Special Issue Number 4 (January 1976): 65-79 (selections).

Krashen, Stephen D. "The Monitor Model for Second Language Acquisition." (Selections.) In Rosario Gingras, ed. *Second Language Acquisition and Foreign Language Teaching*. (Arlington, Va.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1978): 1-26.

PART TWO: The Language Learner and the World

Language learning takes place in the world of social interaction. Studies of language learning and of individual language learners have revealed complex factors — learner motivation, attitude, and learning style — that are involved in successful second language acquisition.

Activity: Thinking About Learning a Foreign Language

Third Session: Affective Factors in Second Language Acquisition

All learners bring to foreign language study traits of personality and preferred ways of learning, and these factors are thought to have a direct impact on the acquisition of a second language.

Sourcebook Readings:

Brown, Douglas H. "Affective Variables in Second Language Acquisition." Language Learning 23, 2 (December 1973): 231-244.

Macnamara, John. "Attitudes and Learning a Second Language." In Shuy and Fasold, (eds.). Language Attitudes: Current Trends and Prospects. Washington, DC, Georgetown University, 1973, 36-40.

Shumann, Francine M. and John H. Schumann. "Diary of a Language Learner: An Introspective Study of Second Language Learning." In Brown, Yorio, and Crymes, (eds.). On TESOL '77, Teaching and Learning English as a Second Language: Trends in Research and Practice. Washington, DC, TESOL, 241-249. (Excerpts).

Fourth Session: What Can we Learn from the Good Language Learner?

Studies of successful language learners have led to a better understanding of learning and acquisition, and have indicated some successful individual learner strategies.

Sourcebook Readings:

Rubin, Joan. "What the 'Good Language Learner' Can Teach Us." TESOL Quarterly 9 (1975): 41-50.

Naiman, N., M. Frohlich, H. H. Stern, and A. Todesco. The Good Language Learner. (Research in Education Series/7). Toronto, Ontario: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1978.

Stern, H. H. "What Can We Learn from the Good Language Learner?" The Canadian Modern Language Review 31, 4 (March 1975): 304-318.

PART THREE: Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Teaching

Fifth Session: Teachers Talk about Acquisition, Learning, and Language Teaching

Teachers respond to learning/acquisition research. Learning activities and acquisition-fostering ones both play a part in effective teaching. Teachers experiment with "contextualized structure exercises."

Activities: Designing an Ideal Language Program
Demonstration: Mechanical, Meaningful, Communicative Structure Drills

Sourcebook Readings:

Rivers, Wilga. "Talking Off the Tops of Their Heads." TESOL Quarterly 6, 1 (1972): 71-81.

Paulston, Christina Bratt. "Linguistic and Communicative Competence." TESOL Quarterly 8, 4 (1974): 347-362.

Paulston, Christina Bratt. "The Sequencing of Structural Pattern Drills." TESOL Quarterly 5, 2 (1971): 197-208.

Terrell, Tracy D. "A Natural Approach to Second Language Acquisition and Learning." Modern Language Journal 61 (1977): 325-337.

Krashen, Stephen D. "Language Learning Buttons." Working Papers on Bilingualism 15 (March, 1978): 93-94.

Gallwey, W. Timothy. The Inner Game of Tennis. (selections) New York: Random House, 1974.

OUTLINE

Part One

Language Learning and Language Acquisition

There are two ways for adults to internalize linguistic rules: language *learning*, which involves conscious focussing on formal linguistic rules, and language *acquisition*, the development of tacit intuitions about language. The first relies on rule isolation and error correction, while the second doesn't require, or even profit from, overt teaching. Rather it is fostered by natural language experience, roughly tuned to the learner's level of proficiency.

I. The First Language: How Children Learn to Speak

All normal children are successful in acquiring their native language. Children learn to speak in a highly methodical way: they analyze the speech they hear, and they construct internal rules that are at first very general and then gradually grow more specific.

A. The Study of Language Acquisition

A child's development of speech has over a long period of time been recorded by parents ("diary studies") and, more recently, by trained observers (Roger Brown and others). Comparative studies of children at the same stage of development have also been carried out.

B. The Development of Language

Children appear to use universal strategies in acquiring language. Children acquire their language in regular stages, although there is wide individual variation in the *rate* of acquisition.

1. Stages of Development

Each child passes through clearly defined stages of development, and there is predictable development within each stage.

2. Order of Acquisition

The regularity of child language acquisition is demonstrated by the systematic acquisition of the structural elements of language.

a. Acquisition of Structures

Children appear to acquire such structures as questions, negatives, past tense forms using common strategies.

b. The Order of Acquisition

By selecting a set of grammatical functors or morphemes, and observing the order in which they are acquired, it is possible to trace the natural order of acquisition.

C. The Language Environment of Children

Parents, older children, or other "caretakers" in the child's environment typically use a special, simplified language with the young child. This "caretaker speech" supports communication with the child, and is thought to aid acquisition.

D. Language and the Brai[illegible]

Various aspects of language appear to be localized in different areas of the brain. Most people are left hemisphere dominant for language. A clear model of language functions in the brain has been constructed.

II. Second Language Study for Adults: Is Second Language Learning like the First?

Although there are many differences between child and adult language learners, the similarities have important implications for teaching and syllabus design. Research reveals that adults retain certain inherent learning strategies and remain sensitive to certain types of language input.

A. Language Learning and Language Acquisition

Adults appear to internalize linguistic rules through learning and through acquisition.

B. The Significance of Learners' Errors

Adult learners make errors that, like the child's show evidence of the development of internal linguistic systems.

C. Creative Construction

Interference, the automatic transfer of surface structure of the first language on the second appears far less important than the construction of internal rules of language use. Child and adult second language learners exhibit a highly regular order of acquisition in natural language settings.

D. Language Input for Language Acquisition

Natural, communicative language input that is "tuned" to the learner's level of proficiency appears to foster acquisition. Neither purely mechanical manipulation of language patterns nor free language far above the learner's proficiency serve as appropriate input for acquisition.

OUTLINE

Part Two

The Language Learner and the World

Language learning takes place in the world of social interaction. The learner's degree of success in acquiring a second language involves a variety of psychological, social, and cognitive factors. Studies of language learning and of individual language learners have revealed a complex picture of the learner's motivation, attitudes, and learning style. Some specific learning strategies and techniques have been tentatively identified.

I. Affective Variables in Second Language Learning

All learners bring to their foreign language study personality traits and preferred ways of learning, and these factors have a direct impact on their acquisition of syntax.

A. Egocentric Factors

Basic aspects of personality, such as one's sense of self, degree of inhibition, and motivation for learning are involved in the learning process.

B. Social Factors

How the learner relates to others affects learning. A learner needs not only exposure to language input, but also has to be "open" to the language. Empathy may be a significant factor.

C. Cognitive Style

The difference in how individuals approach learning in general is thought to have an impact on foreign language acquistion; perhaps learning style is especially important in formal instructional situations.

II. What Can We Learn from the Good Language Learner?

A series of careful studies have been made of successful language learners by teachers and by research psychologists. The goal has been to gain an understanding of language learners, and to identify individual learning strategies.

A. Learner Styles

Good language learners have been studied by teachers (Rubin and others) who have been concerned with identifying learner behaviors. Psychologists, such as the OISE team, have conducted broad-based investigations, including psychological testing, proficiency measurement, classroom observation, and learner interviews.

B. Learner Characteristics

Some generalizations about good learning styles have been made. These lists relate more to learner characteristics than to actual learning techniques and strategies.

III. The Social Context of Language Learning

Since language learning seems to be a highly individual process, some researchers, such as the Schumanns, have found it revealing to investigate personal experience in an effort to identify aspects of the social environment that affect success in language acquisition.

OUTLINE

Part Three

Teachers Talk about Acquisition, Learning, and Language Teaching

Language teachers have been concerned about the implications of recent research on language learning and language acquisition. There is a recognition that both learning activities, and activities that foster acquisition should be incorporated in the foreign language classroom. The challenge is to find ways of providing appropriate input: controlled and sequenced structure exercises that evoke natural communication.

I. Communication in the Foreign Language Classroom

One goal of language instruction is to develop a student's ability to use the foreign language for communication. Communication activities have always played some role in effective language teaching. Learning activities and communication activities appear to have distinctly different characteristics.

A. Language Knowledge and Language Use

The ability to use the target language for communication is based on a command of its structures. But linguistic competence is not the same as communicative competence. Linguistic competence can be built through skill-getting activities, but it requires skill-using to develop communicative competence.

B. Commmunicative Competence

Authentic communication involves not only control of linguistic structures, but also of subtle rules of semantics, discourse strategies, cultural factors, and pragmatics.

II. The Sequencing of Structural Pattern Drills

Paulston describes three different classes of structure exercises: mechanical, meaningful, and communicative drills. They are distinguished not only by structural complexity, but by language use.

A. Mechnical Drills

Mechanical drills involve the purely mechanical manipulation of structural patterns. They are used, it is assumed, to develop "automatic use of patterns, or formation of habits."

B. Meaningful Drills

In a meaningful drill student response is controlled, but may be expressed in several ways. The student must understand the content to perform the exercise. This type of drill has the appearance of natural language, but stops short of actual communication.

C. Communicative Drills

A communicative drill involves the exchange of new information. There is control over the content and structural focus of the exercise, but uses language in a natural, communicative way.

III. Approaches to Language Teaching

Language learners need appropriate input, or intake, whether in or out of the language classroom. Teachers debate how much time should be given to learning activities, and how much to natural language experience.

A. Appropriate Input

Appropriate language input for language acquisition seems to involve meaningful, communicative language that is close to the learner's level of proficiency.

B. Teaching Towards Communication

Some teachers believe that learners need "skill-getting" drills to lead them to communicative or "skill-using" activities. Language teaching involves focus on formal aspects of language in preparation for meaning-based language use.

C. A "Natural" Method

One response to learning/acquisition research has been to develop a teaching method that limits classroom activities entirely to communicative use of language. Formal learning exercises are relegated to out-of-class work.

PART ONE: LANGUAGE LEARNING AND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

First Session: The First Language: How Children Learn to Speak

Second Session: Is Second Language Learning like the First?

Sourcebook Readings:

Moskowitz, Breyne Arlene. "The Acquisition of Language"

Geschwind, Norman. "Language and the Brain"

Corder, S. Pit. "The Significance of Learners' Errors"

Dulay, Heidi and Marina Burt. "Creative Construction in Second Language Learning and Teaching"

Krashen, Stephen D. "The Monitor Model for Second Language Acquisition"

FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING EXPERIENCE:

A SURVEY

We want you to explore your own experience in studying a foreign language. You will be asked questions about the training you've had, and about the formal — and informal — opportunities you've had to use the language. We will also ask you to assess your proficiency in the language, according to your own best judgement.

You may find some of the questions are not relevant to your experience. If so, feel free to change them, if that helps you explore your experience more fully.

If you know several foreign languages, concentrate here on the one you know best. All the questions will then relate to your experience with that language.

Part One

1. What foreign language do you know best? ______________________
2. Rate your ability at the time you were most proficient. (1 = very little; 5 = near native proficiency.)

   a. Speaking ______________________
   1 2 3 4 5

   b. Listening ______________________
   1 2 3 4 5

   c. Reading ______________________
   1 2 3 4 5

   d. Writing ______________________
   1 2 3 4 5

3. Rate your ability to do the following activities using the foreign language. (1 = beyond my proficiency; 3 = some difficulty; 5 = easy.)

a. Carry on a conversation with a native speaker face-to-face.

1 2 3 4 5

b. Ask a stranger for information or directions.

1 2 3 4 5

c. Conduct a conversation on the telephone.

1 2 3 4 5

d. Enjoy a movie, play, or TV program.

1 2 3 4 5

e. Read a newspaper, magazine, or book.

1 2 3 4 5

f. Read a textbook or a technical article.

1 2 3 4 5

g. Write a business letter or a letter to a friend.

1 2 3 4 5

h. Write a school paper or take an examination.

1 2 3 4 5

i. Attend classes or lectures.

1 2 3 4 5

4. What is the most difficult activity for you to do in the foreign language (not limited to the above)? Why?

Part Two: Language Classes

Complete this part if you studied the foreign language in formal class.

5. Was this the first foreign language you studied?
6. How old were you when you began studying the language?
7. How long did you study the language in formal classes?
8. Give a brief description of your first language classes.
    a. Intensity (hours/day; days/week)
    b. General approach (such as grammar and translation; mostly oral drill/practice; mostly conversation and activities; etc.).
    c. Briefly describe a typical class:
    d. What were the main goals: reading, translation, oral proficiency, all skills?
    e. Were there any special features, such as a language lab?
    f. Was the class conducted in English or in the foreign language?
    g. Was there anything important missing in the class?
    h. Were you generally satisfied with the class?
9. Were your later classes conducted in the same way? Comment.
10. Did you ever study with a tutor, or on your own?

Part Three: Using the Language

11. Did you ever visit or live in a community where the language was spoken? Describe briefly.

12. Did you use the language on a regular basis? In what ways?

13. Did you have friends or acquaintances with whom you communicated primarily in the language? Describe briefly.

14. Did you attend school or college classes taught in the language?

Part Four

15. For you, what are the most difficult aspects of studying a foreign language? Some typical problems are listed below:
    a. learning and retaining new vocabulary
    b. comprehending speech at conversational speed
    c. remembering and applying rules of grammar
    d. reading fast enough to keep up interest and comprehension
    e. getting enough practice
    f. making simple mistakes
    g. getting enough exposure to native speakers
    h. developing good study habits

16. Take two or three of the most difficult problems and suggest ways you find effective in dealing with them.

17. Is the experience of visiting or living in a foreign community valuable for your study of the language? Comment briefly.

18. Is it more effective to visit or live in a foreign community or to study the language in a good language class? Comment briefly.

Part One

Language Learning and Language Acquisition

Learning to speak a language means mastering its rules. Every language is governed by rules. We master, or "internalize", the rules of our native language early in life. The process is largely completed before we are five. We know the rules of our language long before anyone "teaches" them to us. That is, we develop unconscious intuitions about our language and how it works. In recent years, linguists and psychologists have carefully studied how children learn to speak. We now know that this process of internalizing the rules of our native language is extremely regular and predictable. Children are born with a capacity to acquire language, and every child uses virtually identical learning strategies.

The term "language acquisition" is used to describe this unconscious learning process. When a child masters his native language, or "picks up" a second language early in life, we say that the child has acquired the language. The acquisition of language doesn't require formal teaching.

Now, acquiring language is very different from studying language rules in a grammar book. This kind of study is concerned with developing a conscious knowledge of explicit, formal rules. We call this language learning, to distinguish it from acquisition.

A child of two or three years old obviously doesn't learn his native language with a grammar book. The child wants to communicate, and the child's parents, or "caretakers", want to communicate with him. The child is exposed to language, and uses language, and his language grows as a result.

There are two ways, then, of internalizing the rules of a foreign language: language learning, a conscious process, in which the learner is concerned with the formal knowledge of explicit rules; and language acquisition, which is the subconscious, tacit control of intuitions about language. This distinction between two types of awareness applies to other complex, whole-body activities as well as language. It is something like the distinction that Timothy Gallwey makes in The Inner Game of Tennis, between formal awareness and intuitive play in tennis.

When we practice tennis, he says, we often concentrate on the formal aspects of our actions: how to hold the racket, where to place our right foot, when to follow through. This sort of conscious awareness resembles what we have described as learning: a conscious focus on explicit rules. In fact, in a tennis lesson we can find a rough equivalent of the typical grammar class:

> Imagine what goes on inside the head of an eager student taking a lesson from an equally eager new tennis pro. Suppose that the student is a middle-aged businessman bent on improving his position on the club ladder. The pro is standing at the net with a large basket of balls, and being a bit uncertain whether his student is considering him worth the lesson fee, he is carefully evaluating every shot. "That's good, but you're rolling your racket face over a little on your follow-through, Mr. Weil. Now shift your weight onto your front foot as you step into the ball...Now you're taking your racket back too late...Your backswing should be a little lower than on that last shot...That's it, much better." Before long, Mr. Weil's mind is churning with six thoughts about what he should be doing and sixteen thoughts about what he shouldn't be doing. Improvement seems dubious and very complex, but both he and the pro are impressed by the careful analysis of each stroke and the fee is gladly paid upon receipt of the advice to "practice all this, and eventually you'll see a big improvement."

There is a great difference between this and those moments when a tennis player gets caught up in the excitement of the game, and concentrates, not on form, but on winning the point.

> These moments seem to occur most frequently when players are volleying back and forth at the net. Often the exchange of shots at such short quarters is so rapid that action faster than thought are required. These moments are exhilarating, and the players are often amazed to find that they make perfect placements against shots they didn't even expect to reach. Moving more quickly than they thought they could, they have no time to plan; the perfect shot just comes. And feeling that they didn't execute the shot deliberately, they often call it luck; but if it happens repeatedly, one begins to trust oneself and feel a deep sense of confidence.

Gallwey doesn't use the terms acquisition or learning, but he is describing a similar phenomenon. And he, too, like the people who study language, is interested in the nature of the process of skill development. Much of tennis instruction is like formal learning, but, he says,

> There is a far more natural and effective process for learning and doing almost anything than most of us realize. It is similar to the process we all used, but soon forgot, as we learned to walk and talk. It uses the so-called unconscious mind more than the deliberate "self-conscious" mind, the spinal and midbrain areas of the nervous system more than the cerebral cortex. This process doesn't have to be learned; we already know it. All that is needed is to unlearn those habits which interfere with it and then just let it happen.

Gallwey explores these concepts in terms of tennis. In this section, we explore them in the context of language.

The First Language

Breyne Arlene Moskowitz. "The Acquisition of Language." Scientific American 239, 5: 92-108. (November 1978).

Norman Geschwind. "Language and the Brain." Scientific American 226, 4: 76-83. (December 1972).

How Do Children Learn to Speak?

Adults, especially parents, have always been fascinated by the child's ability to acquire language. How does an infant learn to comprehend language and begin to speak? How does a child -- though never actively taught -- so rapidly master complex and subtle aspects of structure and meaning? Until recently, most of our knowledge has been based on the records kept by parents, "diary studies" of their child's language development. Charles Darwin, the famous naturalist, kept a careful record of his own child's language growth. Some of these studies continue to be valuable, but in the last ten or fifteen years a substantial body of new information has been developed, based on the methodical, long-term observation of young children as they acquire their ability to speak. As a result, we now have fresh and more complete insights into the language acquisition process, which Arlene Moskowitz describes in a recent article.

It is now clear that young children go about the task of acquiring language in a highly active way. They don't merely mimic or copy sentences that adults speak to them. Rather, in a highly systematic way, the break down the language that they hear into its simplest parts. Then, they develop the rules which they need to put the parts together. (Every langauge is a highly developed system of communication that is governed by rules which control every aspect of language organization and use: how sounds are put together; how words are formed; how sentences are structured; how conversations are organized.) This process begins almost from birth. Long before a child speaks his first words, the child's brain has been actively analyzing and sorting out the language in the environment. During the babbling stage, which precedes the onset of speech, children put together strings of sounds that have the intonation (the rising and falling sound patterns) of sentences. The babbling of a Korean baby, for example, will sound distinctly different from a French child's babble.

What a child acquires, then, is an underlying capacity to create meaningful utterances. We gain insight into the nature of this capacity by observing the stages of development every child experiences. After a period of babbling, which, as Moskowitz observes, is a significant part of the acquisition process, the child enters a stage which is characterized by one-word utterances (the One-Word Stage). But even here, the child exhibits some growing control of the underlying system of language. The child begins to observe grammatical categories, distinguishing nouns ("daddy"), for example, from verbs ("go"). Moreover, the child may often give a sentence-like intonation to the single words. The child then enters a second stage (the Two-Word Stage) in which words are combined into two-word structures: possessor/possessed ("mommy sock"), actor/action ("cat sleeping"), or action/object ("drink soup"). The child's apparent "errors", then, are not really errors at all. Rather, they are evidence of the initial assumptions or hypotheses the child is making about how the language works.

The child, in a sense, works at the task of acquisition like a very efficient linguist. The child forms the most general possible rule first and then gradually refines it. The process of overgeneralization and gradual refinement becomes more evident as the child enters the next stage of development (Telegraphic Speech) and strings together longer utterances that initially lack most structural elements or function words. ("Tommy go store.")

This stage has been closely studied, and observers have recorded how children develop control over structures, such as question forms or negative statements. Take negation. The principle is this: the child formulates the simplest and most general rule first, and then develops more specific rules that apply to more and more instances. The First Rule may be something like this: "To make a negative, add 'no' or 'not' to the beginning, sometimes the end, of a phrase." This produces sentences like: "no .. wipe finger." "Not a teddy bear." "Wear mitten no." Soon, the child makes a more sophisticated hypothesis: "Add a negative word like 'no', 'not', 'can't', or 'don't' to a sentence, after the subject, but before the verb." And the child gets sentences like "I don't want it." Or "He no bite you." Later, the child forms even more complicated rules and produces negative sentences which come closer and closer to the speech of adults. But it takes a long time to develop a full set of hypotheses that will treat subtle areas, such as pronoun agreement (I didn't see something.") and so on.

What emerges from these observations is a critical insight: children go about the process of acquiring their language in a highly systematic and predictable way. All children go through the same regular stages of development and it appears that all children, whatever their first language, use the same universal acquisition strategies. Among the most striking evidence for this is the research on what is called the "order of acquisition." Roger Brown and his colleagues at Harvard studied the acquisition of English by three children. They carefully recorded and analyzed their language growth during their first five years. One research method they used was to trace each child's acquisition of a small number (14) of selected grammatical features, structural words and elements, such as past tense and plural markers. They discovered a remarkably similar pattern: each child acquired each element in virtually the same order. This suggests that deep, underlying acquisition strategies are used by children as they master their language.

What short of exposure does a child need in order to acquire language? Children are not taught their language. Parents are far more concerned with communicating with a child than with correcting his "errors". Children need to hear language, but mere exposure is not enough. The hearing child of deaf parents, for example, whose only exposure to oral language was through listening to television, did not develop oral language despite the fact that the child mastered sign language, which he used to communicate with his parents.

Communication seems to be central to language and language acquisition. In fact, it appears that adults -- parents, or other "caretakers" -- often use a special kind of language when addressing a young child. This special kind of speech, "caretaker speech", has been observed and studied in many different cultures. When a child first begins to speak, the "caretaker" will typically simplify the language spoken to the child. This seems to be a thoroughly natural, but largely unselfconscious thing to do. It helps the adult communicate with the child. The "caretaker" simplifies language in a number of specific ways:

1) by talking about the "here and now", about things that may be seen, touched, experienced in the immediate environment;

2) by using short, simple sentences, and using longer, more complex sentences as the child grows older;

3) by limiting the language to a small number of patterns (mothers tend to use a high proportion of questions, while fathers use more imperatives), and

4) by being concerned, in general, with communicating with the child.

It appears that "caretaker speech" may play some role in fostering a child's acquisition of language.

The process which Moskowitz briefly describes is obviously a highly complex one. The child plays an active role in acquiring language, using limited language input to derive the subtle rules which govern the structure and use of language. Whether language is in some sense innate in human beings, or whether language develops as part of a general maturing of cognitive abilities, it is clear that children approach the task of learning to speak equipped with a powerful capacity of acquisition, and need only meaningful, communicative language experience to learn how to speak.

Language and the Brain

Language has a physical dimension, as well. For most of us, our language capacity is located in the left half (or hemisphere) of our brain. Virtually all right-handed people, and most left-handed people, are "left-hemisphere dominant" for langauge. Only human beings demonstrate this characteristic dominance of one hemisphere over the other for a learned behavior.

Norman Geschwind presents a rapid and somewhat simplified overview of the physiology of language. What is striking is this: different aspects of language capacity are located in different areas of the brain. The "content" of language, the nouns and verbs and adjectives, if you will, seem to be associated with one area, while the structural elements are situated in another. (Children, we recall, acquire content words earlier than the structural features.)

What we know about the physical bases of language we have learned through the study of brain damage and corresponding language loss. When a person suffers a stroke, which is damage to a part of the brain, one result may be loss of language (aphasia). There are a number of different types of aphasia, depending on what part of the brain has been damaged.

If damage occurs in Broca's Area (which is above and slightly forward of the ear), the victim is likely to lose fluency in language. Every utterance will be extremely slow and labored, and articulation may be impaired. The person may speak in a telegraphic manner, leaving all the structural elements out ("Go...New York", the victim might say.) Often, however, there is little or no loss of comprehension.

However, if damage occurs in another part of the brain called Wernicke's Area, the victim's speech remains quite fluent, and the sentences grammatical. But there will be little content to the speech, and there may be a severe loss of comprehension. ("Before I was in the one here, I was over in the other one.")

These two areas of the brain are connected by a bundle of nerves. There have been cases where a victim suffered severe brain damage, but the language areas remained intact. Geschwind describes such a case. A woman suffered such severe damage that her cognitive functions were lost. Yet, she could still repeat sentences spoken to her, and even "learn" rhymes and songs. In this case, the language capacity remained but was totally separated from the rest of the brain.

Geschwind shows that structural capacity resides in one part of the brain, Broca's Area, while "content" is associated with Wernicke's Area. Other language capacities, such as the ability to read letters and words, are also centered in specific areas of the brain.

Is Second Language Learning like the First?

S. Pit Corder. "The Significance of Learners' Errors." International Review of Applied Linguistics. 5: 161-170 (1967).

Heidi C. Dulay and Marina K. Burt. "Creative Construction in Second Language Learning and Teaching," (excerpts). Language Learning. Special Issue Number 4: 65-79 (January 1976).

Stephen D. Krashen. "The Monitor Model for Second-Language Acquisition," (excerpts). In Rosario Gingras, ed. Second-Language Acquisition and Foreign Language Teaching. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1978: 1-26.

As linguists develop a greater understanding of how children learn to speak, they have begun to look more closely, and in a more informed way, at second language learning. They have applied some of the same research techniques to clarify the processes of second language acquisition. In some ways, first language and second language acquisition are now thought to be similar. (Similar, but hardly identical.) Susan Ervin-Tripp ("Is Second Language Learning like the First?" TESOL Quarterly, 8,2: 111-127) asks:

> Is second language learning like first language learning? Is there a change in learning rate or process with age? If it is the case that second language learning appears to draw on skills and processes similar to those available during first language learning, then the answer to the second question may be generalizable to first language acquisition. If the process is similar, then we can also

> manipulate the functional, social, and structural circumstances in which learning occurs and have a much broader knowledge of the learning system than is now available. (113)

After reviewing a great deal of research, including a careful study of children acquiring French in a bilingual school in Geneva, she concludes:

> We found that the functions of early sentences, and their form, their semantic redundancy, their reliance on ease of short term memory, their overgeneralization of lexical forms, their use of simple order strategies all were similar to processes we have seen in first language acquisition. *In broad outlines, then, the conclusion is tenable that first and second language learning is similar in natural situations*. However, if children come to the task with some knowledge already available, there may be very accelerated progress in some respects, so that the rate of development will not look the same for all details. In every respect, we found that in the age range of four through nine the older children had an advantage and learned faster.
>
> The first hypothesis we might have is that in all second language learning we will find the *same processes*: *overgeneralization*, *production simplification*, *loss of sentence-medial forms*, *and so on*. (126)

Susan Ervin-Tripp sees important similarities in the *production* of first and second language learners, and she argues that these similarities suggest that underlying learning strategies are similar as well. Second language acquirers need a similar kind of input, exposure to communicative language, to derive the sort of deep hypotheses about the way the language works that native speakers have. But second language acquirers have a distinct advantage: because they are older, and more mature intellectually, they also have the ability to learn *about* the language, and, she feels, they may make "very accelerated progress in some respects" because they can supplement their informal acquisition with formal learning.

S. Pit Corder treats another aspect of this question. He asks whether the errors that learners make are significant or not. We have seen that the "mistakes" that children make when they are learning to speak are indicative of language development and growth. When a child says something like "This mummy chair," it is not to be regarded "as an error in any sense at all, but rather as a normal childlike communication which provides evidence of the state of the child's linguistic development at that moment." But don't second language students make similar types of errors? They do, and the question is, how should we treat them, and what do they mean to the researcher and the language teacher?

Corder argues that the errors of second language learners seem to be evidence of what he calls "transitional competence". They show the state of the learner's ability at a certain point in time. The point is that many learner errors are not random at all. Rather, they may be like the child's errors, a systematic application of transitional rules. "The key concept," he writes, "is that the learner is using a definite system of language at every point in his development, although it is not the system of the second language." If errors are systematic, they should be treated as developing systems, not as random mistakes to be pointed out and corrected.

A learner's errors, then, are significant in three different ways.

> First, they are significant to the teacher in that they tell him, if he undertakes a systematic analysis, how far towards the goal the learner has progressed and, consequently, what remains for him to learn. Second, they provide to the researcher evidence of how language is learned or acquired, what strategies or procedures the learner is employing in his discovery of the language. Thirdly (and in a sense this is their most important aspect), they are indispensible to the learner himself, because we can regard the making of errors as a device the learner uses in order to learn. It is a way the learner has of testing his hypotheses about the nature of the language he is learning.

Some errors, Corder grants, are due to what is called native language "interference", which is simply substituting native language patterns for structures in the second language. But the errors Corder is concerned about here are of a different type: they are developmental errors, and they are the result of the natural learning strategies that any person brings to the task of learning, that is, acquiring a language.

Heidi Dulay and Marina Burt turn their attention to defining the process which underlies language acquisition, a process characterized by the "creative construction" of internal hypotheses about how language is structured. They believe that "the cognitive structure which all normal children possess plays a major role on the way they learn a second language."

Like Corder, they are very concerned with the question of learners' errors. They have carefully examined the assumption, which Corder questioned, that the majority of a second language learner's errors are due to first language interference. They tested this notion by examining the errors made by children of a variety of different language backgrounds who were learning English. They gathered data using tests that approximate natural, informal oral English, and they looked closely at the "order of acquisition" of certain grammatical elements (similar to the elements Roger Brown traced among first language learners.) They discovered that there was evidence of a common pattern of development of English ability, despite the fact that the children studied came from various backgrounds. They found a similar (average) order of acquisition of that set of grammatical elements among all child second langauge learners, when they were using English in natural language situations. This suggests, they argue, that "interference, defined as the automatic transfer, due to habit, of the surface structure of the first language onto the surface of the target language is virtually non-existent in child second language acquisition."

They believe that there are important implications of this discovery for the teaching (and learning) of foreign languages. "Creative construction in the language classroom means that during a signficant part of the language class natural communication situations (need to be) provided which allow learners to use their creative construction abilities to the fullest...A natural communication situation is one where the focus of both the speaker and the listener is on the message being conveyed, not on the form of the message."

Dulay and Burt, whose work has dealt with children learning a second language, suggest their findings also apply to adult second language learning. Stephen Krashen has shown that they do. His argument is based on, among other data, an investigation of the "order of acquisition", once again, of some of the grammatical elements that Brown studied among first language learners. In natural language situations, such as conversations or structured interviews, he found that second language learners of English exhibited a pattern of development of English proficiency (an "order of acquisition") that resembled the child's development. This pattern of development was largely independent of the learner's first language. In short, he found that adult second language learners used a "creative construction" process, and that first language interference was not a factor of central concern.

Adults have an important advantage over a child: they have two means of developing second language proficiency: through formal learning, which is a conscious process, and through acquisition, which is less concerned with form than actual communicative use of the language. Formal knowledge is ordinarily used only to "monitor", or correct, the speaking or writing of the second language, but most actual performance is based, he says, on acquired competence. Adults, like children, rely on the competence they have acquired when they speak.

In order to foster acquisition of a foreign language, Krashen believes that language students should be provided with a special kind of language input. This language, he proposes, is similar to the "caretaker speech" that is addressed to young children. It is fully grammatical, but simplified communicative language, focussed on meaning, rather than form. It is a kind of sheltered input, understandable to the learner, and more or less "finely tuned" to the learner's level of proficiency.

Selected Readings for Session One

(The following two articles are only listed.)

Moskowitz, Breyne Arlene. The Acquistion of Language. How do children learn to speak? It seems they do so in a highly methodical way: they break the language down into its simplest parts and develop the rules they need to put the parts together. (Scientific American Offprints, No. 583) San Francisco, CA: W.H. Freeman and Co. 12 pp. [Originally published in Scientific American, Vol. 239, No. 5 (Nov. 1978), pp. 92-108]

Geschwind, Norman. Language and the Brain. Aphasias are speech disorders caused by brain damanage. The relations between these disorders and specific kinds of brain damage suggest a model of how the language areas of the human brain are organized. (Scientific American Offprints, No. 1246) San Francisco, CA: W.H. Freeman and Co. 9 pp. [Originally published in Scientific American, Vol. 226, No. 4 (April 1972), pp. 76-83]

Selected Readings for Session Two

The following article is only listed:

Corder, S. Pitt. "The Significance of Learners' Errors." International Review of Applied Linguistics, 5:161-170 (1967)

The following are included:

Dulay, Heidi and Marina Burt. "Creative Construction in Second Language Learning and Teaching."

Krashen, Sphen D. "The Monitor Model for Second Language Acquisition."

Dulay, Heidi C., and Marina K. Burt. "Creative Construction in Second Language Learning and Teaching," in Language Learning, Special Issue Number 4 (January 1976):65-79 (selections).

The search for the particular principles that govern second language learning is one of the major tasks of our profession. It is not the responsibility of theoretical linguists or psychologists. It is our responsibility as teachers -- we are ultimately responsible for the learning theories we use in the language classroom. In the few years we have begun to accept the challenge.

The most productive research in second language learning during the last decade has included research on both children and adults. For the purpose of this paper, by children we mean learners four or five to about eight or nine years old, and by adults we mean learners over twelve or thirteen years old. The investigations have focused on three general areas: first, the affective domain for adults, that is, the attitudes and motivation, and sociocultural factors that influence adult second language learning; second, adult errors analysis, the purpose of which has been to discover systematicity and universality in the speech of adult second language learners; and third, the investigation of the creative construction process in children, where the major effort has been to develop a theory or account of child second language acquisition which is consistent with observations and analyses of the developing speech of children learning a second language. The third area is the topic of this paper.

Let us begin by stating the basic premise that underlies most of the research that has been done on child second language acquisition: namely, the cognitive structure which all normal children possess plays a major role in the way they learn a second language. Given this premise, the basic research question is NOT how can we best fill up a child's head with a new language, rather it is: what is in the child's head that governs or guides what he learns. This view of learning is obviously not new. It is the basis of Chomsky's work in linguistics, of Roger Brown's work in first language acquisition, and basically of Piaget's work in developmental psychology. An illustration of this framework will help put into perspective the research we will discuss today.

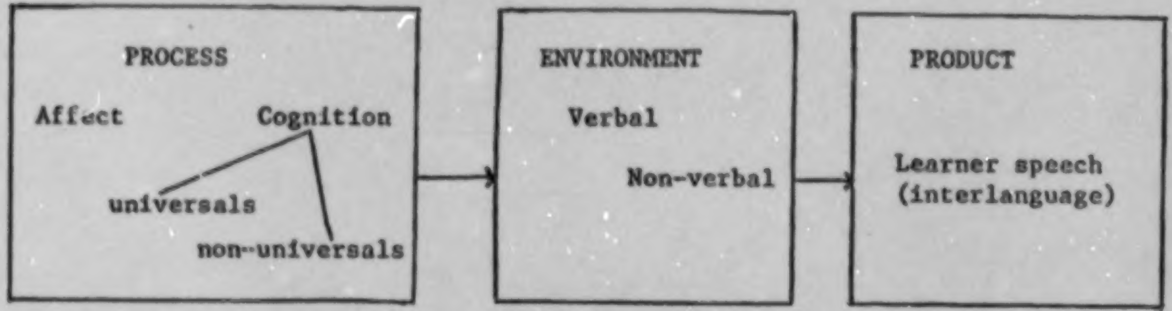

Figure 1. Second language learning framework.

Given that we cannot look inside the learner's head (PROCESS), we study the learner's developing speech (PRODUCT) (errors, sequences of acquisition, etc.), in combination with the type of verbal and relevant non-verbal environment the learner is exposed to. (Is the learner exposed to natural speech, or formal instruction; is he/she exposed to Standard English or another dialect, to peer speech or adult speech?) From these observations we should be able to infer the nature of the cognitive structures responsible for language learning.

Most of the work that has been done so far has focused on syntax acquisition. Therefore, the comments we will make today refer to syntax acquisition and not to the acquisition of phonology, vocabulary, discourse rules or speech styles. Other processes may account for these phenomena.

L2 Developmental Structures and L1 Acquisition

The early work in child second language (L2) acquisition ("early" meaning four to six years ago) emphasized the comparison of the developing structures children produced in first language (L1) acquisition. For example, R. Ravem (1974) at the University of Essex studied the acquisition of English wh-questions by his Norwegian speaking son and daughter over a period of four months. He found that the intermediate steps his children went through in the acquisition of wh-questions were the same as those that Brown's research children Adam, Eve, and Sarah went through. That is, the children used structures like Where Daddy go? and Where Daddy is going? before they produced the mature form Where is Daddy going?

The findings provided the first bits of evidence that the process of child second language acquisition is similar in important respects to the general process described by Brown, Cazden, Slobin and others for first language acquisition. Ravem looked at the speech product of his subject -- the developing wh-questions -- and suggested that the L2 acquisition process may well be similar to that of L1.

Interference

Developmental structures, by definition, contain errors. If, as we have seen, the developmental structures of first and second language learners are similar, it implies that second language learners are making the same kinds of errors that first language learners make. This is quite different from the types of errors that traditional second language learning theory predicts. The major source of errors is supposed to be due to the differences between the first and second language as specified by a contrastive analysis of both languages. Thus, when learning the syntax of a second language, the learners should tend to use the structures of their native language when they are trying to speak the second language -- that is, they should suffer from first language interference. But Ravem and Milon's data do not show L1 syntactic interference. Instead, the second language errors of the children are similar to first language errors, and we know that first language errors cannot be due to interference from another language, because there was no previous language learned.

When we think about second language learners however, it is natural to expect that the experience of having learned one language already must in some way affect the learning of a second language. After all, past experience is always used, for better or for worse, in new situations. There have been other studies that have investigated this issue. Natalicio and Natalicio (1971) studies the acquisition of English plurals by native Spanish children in Grades 1, 2, 3 and 10. Spanish plurals are forms by adding /s/ (casas), and /es/ (mujeres), and English plurals are formed by adding /s/ (cats), /z/ (dogs) and /iz/ (judges). If transfer from Spanish were operating, one would expect the order of acquisition to be /s/ only first then /z/ and /iz/ together, because Spanish plurals are all voiceless, and voicing is the new feature English requires. What Natalicio and Natalicio (1971) did find was that /s/ and /z/ were learned first, and /iz/ was learned last. This was true for both native Spanish and native English speakers. Thus, the children did not transfer Spanish pluralization rules when they were learning English, otherwise, they would have learned /s/ alone first.

Studies such as these make it clear that the shape of the surface structure of the first language, (the patterns of that language) is NOT automatically used when the child attempts to speak a new language. That is, interference defined as the automatic transfer, due to habit, of the surface structure of the first language onto the surface of the target language is virtually non-existent in child second language acquisition.

There are other phenomena that occur in second language learning which are often labeled interference, but which are in fact qualitatively different from the notion of interference just defined. For example, the use of a Spanish vocabulary word in an English sentence, such as, I got a quarter for leche, or Tres more dias and we're going to the zoo, (Cathart, reported in Hatch 1974) does not show the transfer of Spanish structure onto English, since the syntax of English is maintained. What is critical here is that such borrowing is not automatic habit, nor is it uncontrollable by the speaker. In fact, Weinreich takes great pains to point out that such borrowing, together with the switching of language in mid-sentence, called code-switching, are phenomena that occur only when the speaker knows that the listener is also bilingual. Furthermore, speakers inhibit this when they know the listener is monolingual.

Thus, although these phenomena have been labeled interference, we can easily see that they are entirely different from interference as defined by the habit formation account of second language learning -- which is that interference simply reflects the speaker's uncontrollable tendency to use first language habits in second language speech.

If Not L1 Surface Structure, What Transfers?

Interference is one predicted result of what is known in the psychological jargon as transfer. Transfer in its most general sense simply means the use of what one already knows in new learning tasks. Traditional second language learning theory has defined "what one already knows" as the patterns of language the learner already speaks. In other words, the actual patterns of the first language should be transferred to the second language in the process of learning the second language. When the patterns in L1 and L2 are different, the predicted result is interference or negative transfer; when they are the same the predicted result is immediate learning (positive transfer). In terms of the diagram above it is, in this view, the speech product that should transfer from the first to the second language.

As we have just seen, however, this type of transfer does not occur in the process of child second language syntax acquisition. Structures that are the same in both native and target languages are not necessarily learned, nor do differences in structures result in significant first language interference, as we have seen from the studies of Milon, Ravem and others, as well as our own.

All of this does not mean that transfer does not occur in second language acquisition. Rather, the research shows only that transfer of L1 syntactic patterns (product transfer) rarely occurs. If, however, transfer is defined in terms of learning process, then transfer indeed occurs in L2 acquisition. That is, the general principles of reconstructing primary linguistic data used in L1 acquisition are also evident in L2 acquisition. For example, several basic similarities appear in the speech of children learning English as a first and second language: 1) They keep the grammatical frills to a minimum. That is, they omit grammatical morphemes such as verb endings, noun inflections, articles, auxiliaries and so forth; e.g., He eat too much, That two dog, etc. 2) They use only minimal cues to signal different sentence types, e.g. What you are doing? 3) They overgeneralize, that is, they disregard exceptions to rules and use the regular forms of syntactic and morphological rules; e.g. He eated too much; two mouses; She made me to come. 4) They use double marking, e.g., I didn't went.

Process transfer does not imply that the speech product is identical for first and second language learners. In fact, children learning English as a second language create somewhat different and more sophisticated rules than those created by first language learners. For example, second language learners probably know a language requires certain frills, such as grammatical morphemes. It is natural, then, that when learning a second language, they should tend to overuse or misuse some of these frills, since their past experience tells them that a language requires frills. This results in error types not typically made by first language learners. For example:

He nots eats.
She's dancings.

Such examples merely reflect the learner's effort to pay tribute to certain language requirements, a principle learned through the first language learning experience or if you will, the metalinguistic awareness that comes with acquisition experience. The fact that second language learners are able to pay this tribute, that is, that they are able to use grammatical frills, albeit incorrectly, is simply a function of their age. Second language learners are older, more cognitively developed, and have a longer memory span than one and two year old children learning a first language. Thus, we should expect the use of some developing constructions that are more varied and in some ways, more sophisticated than those used by first language learners.

Differences in the actual order of acquisition of certain elementary structures by L1 and L2 learners also reflect their differences in developmental stage. Although a common English acquisition order for nine grammatical morphemes was found for Spanish-and-Chinese-speaking children, the order was different from that found by Brown (1973) and the DeVilliers (1973) for their English L1 learners (Dulay and Burt 1974c and d).

In sum, we have now arrived at a point in child L2 acquisition research where we can place L1 acquisition in proper perspective -- where we can say with confidence that child L2 acquisition is a creative construction process as is L1 acquisition, but that the creative construction process in L2 acquisition has unique characteristics. The beginnings of the search for these characteristics is the focus of much of the present research effort in L2 acquisition.

Recent findings provide the kind of support we need to affirm with confidence the major role of the creative construction process in second language learning, that is, children gradually reconstruct rules for the speech they hear, guided by universal innate mechanisms which cause them to use certain strategies to organize that linguistic input, until the mismatch between the language system they are exposed to and what they produce is resolved.

A question that often arises is: Does this also apply to adult L2 learning? Although there is no time to address this issue, let us just mention that there are some recent studies on acquisition order for adults learning a second language -- studies by Larsen-Freeman (1975), S. Krashen, C. Madden, N. Bailey (1975), Taylor (1975) and others, which suggest that adults too, have access to the creative construction process. To the extent that this turns out to be true, it would support Jespersen, Palmer and Sweet, who, as early as 1899 suggested a similar process of language acquisition for adults and children.

Classroom Implications

Most second language curricula have not reflected the process of second language acquisition, simply because until recently, virtually nothing was known about the process. Most curriculum materials are based on general learning theory borrowed from behaviorist psychology. We now no longer need to borrow, as there is enough empirical research on how a second language is actually learned to suggest the general framework of the process. We know now that the shape of the learner's cognitive structure guides the second language learning process in important ways. We know that children in particular have the wonderful ability to extract the grammar of a language from the strings of unfamiliar words that make up a foreign language. It is the role, then, of the ESL teacher, to enhance creative construction. This is no way undermines the role of the ESL teacher. On the contrary, to the extent that language learning is a creative construction process, curriculum materials and techniques must be revised to reflect it.

Creative construction in the language classroom means that during a significant part of the language class natural communication situations are provided which allow learners to use their creative construction abilities to the fullest. A natural communication situation is not one where dialogues are memorized, or where students are asked unreal questions such as "What am I doing?" These kinds of activities are not appropriate because a natural communication situation is one where the focus of both the speaker and the listener is on the message being conveyed, not on the form of that message. This kind of situation is perhaps what is most conspicuously absent from most ESL materials, and the reason is simple: ESL lessons are intended to teach the forms of the English language, not to convey information about the real world. The message, therefore, is secondary and a look through most ESL lessons reveals that most carry no message at all, much less focus on one. If we wish to provide natural communication situations in the classroom, we must focus on the message, not on the form of the message. This does not mean we should not focus on the form of the language at all, but simply that *when* we wish to provide a natural communication situation in a particular lesson, form must take a back seat, which means we would not stop and *correct* children's speech during this activity in the ESL classroom. Otherwise, it would not be a natural communication situation anymore.

The problem that now arises is, if we don't focus on the form of the language, what should we do or talk about to provide natural communication situations; we believe that the criterion for a productive natural communication situation in an ESL classroom (or any L2), at least for beginning students, is that the material to be presented be visually demonstrable. That is, the students should not need to rely on the verbal instructions or comments to "get the message". If they get the message visually, they can infer the correspondence between the form of the language used and the message. This condition, of course excludes a great number of topics that *require* verbal explanations to understand, such as the definition of inflation. However, it does include a variety of topics. For example, science experiments, games or arts and crafts are activities which can be undertaken and where principles can be demonstrated without having to rely on verbal communication. For example, principles of gravity or growth can be understood by children through simple demonstration. Any explanation by the teacher which accompanies such demonstrations provides the child exposure to natural speech. This kind of exposure is what is required to activate the language learning process in the child. And even if at first the children do not understand much of what the teacher is *saying*, the children's interest will be maintained, and gradually, as if by magic, the child will learn the syntax of the language. We believe that teaching something *through* the second language, specifically, demonstrable principles or activities, will enhance the creative construction process of second language learning.

The job of creating natural communication situations in the ESL class provides an opportunity for meaningful interaction between the ESL teacher and subject matter teachers. The ESL teacher might browse through some of the subject matter materials, which can suggest topics for the language class, that is, topics that are visually demonstrable. The use of such topics would supplement and reinforce subject matter presented in a different manner in the subject matter class. Such lessons might be one source for natural communication situations in the ESL class. There are, of course, others that ESL teachers use already such as games, greetings, role playing and story telling via pictures and films.

We believe that these kinds of activities will be pleasant and rewarding for the language teacher, and will ensure a more productive and happier second language learner.

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The Monitor Model of second-language performance posits that the adult second-language performer can "internalize" rules of a target language via one or both of two separate systems: an implicit way, termed subconscious language acquisition, and an explicit way, conscious language learning. Language acquisition is very similar to the process children use in acquiring first and second languages. It requires meaningful interaction in the target language -- natural communication -- in which speakers are not concerned with the form of their utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding. Error correction and explicit teaching of rules do not seem too relevant to language acquisition, but caretakers and native speakers can modify their utterances addressed to acquirers to help them understand, and these modifications are thought to help the acquisition process. It has been hypothesized that there is a fairly stable order of acquisition of structures in language acquisition, that is, one can see clear similarities across acquirers as to which structures tend to be acquired early and which tend to be acquired late. Acquirers need not have a conscious meta-awareness of the "rules" they possess, and may self-correct only on the basis of a "feel" for grammaticality.

Conscious language learning, on the other hand, is said to be helped a great deal by error correction and the presentation of explicit rules. Error correction, it is maintained, helps the learner come to the correct mental representation of the linguistic generalization. Whether such feedback has this effect to a significant degree remains an open question. No invariant order for learning is claimed, although syllabi implicitly claim that learners proceed from simple to complex, a sequence that may not be identical to the acquisition sequence.

The fundamental claim of the Monitor Model is that conscious learning is available to the performer only as a Monitor. In general, utterances are initiated by the acquired system -- our fluency in production is based on what we have "picked up" through active communication. Our "formal" knowledge of the second language, our conscious learning, may be used to alter the output of the acquired system, sometimes before and sometimes after the utterance is produced. We make these changes to improve accuracy, and the use of the Monitor often has this effect.

The discovery of the "natural order" has allowed us to probe the interaction between language acquisition and language learning in the adult performer: we have interpreted the presence of the "natural order" (the child's order of acquisition or difficulty order) in the adult performer as a manifestation of the acquired system without substantial interruption or contribution from the conscious grammar, or Monitor.

There are two important constraints on the use of the Monitor. The performer must have time in order to monitor. In normal conversation, both in speaking and listening, performers generally do not have time to think about and apply conscious grammatical rules, and we see little or no effect of the Monitor in these situations. This condition, however, is necessary but not sufficient. Heidi Dulay and Marina Burt have pointed out to me that a performer may have time but may still not monitor, as he may be completely involved with his message. There is, thus, a second condition: the performer must be "focussed on form," or correctness. The second condition predicts some recent data nicely.

Note that the model allows us to self-correct using acquired knowledge of language, or our "feel" for correctness. That is what native speakers generally do in the case of speech errors. The point is that conscious learning is only available as a Monitor.

In the last few years, the Monitor Model has been shown to be useful in explaining a variety of phenomena in the field of second-langauge acquisition. While many of these phenomena may have alternative explanations, the claim is that the Monitor Model provides for all of them in a general, non ad-hoc way that satisfies the intuitions as well as the data.

If the acquisition-learning distinction is valid, and if acquisition is the central process whereby adult second-language ability is attained and manifested, it follows that a central task, if not the central task, for language teaching is to encourage language acquisition, whether in the class or outside of the classroom. In this section, we will discuss the necessary conditions for language acquisition in general -- child or adult. In other words, we will attempt to define the term intake, the input language that acquirers can actually utilize for language acquisition. We will rely on child langauge acquisition literature, specifically the literature on caretaker speech, in an attempt to arrive at a definition of intake.

Encouraging Language Acquisition in the Adult or Providing Intake

The Characteristics of Intake.

The literature in child language acquisition strongly suggests that overt teaching, in forms of explicit rules and feedback, is not of value in encouraging language acquisition. Adults generally focus on what children say, not how they say it, and there does not seem to be any communication pressure shaping grammatical development. It does seem to be the case that adults can and do behave in such a way so as to encourage language acquisition, even though the conscious purpose of such behavior may not be language teaching. I refer to the phenomenon referred to in the literature as "motherese," or more generally, "caretaker" language. Studies of caretaker speech are increasingly numerous in the literature, and, in my opinion, they are of crucial importance for all aspects of language acquisition, child and adult. Their most important potential contribution to adult second-language acquisition is the help they can give us in arriving at a definition of intake. Intake, a term first used by Corder (1967), refers to that input that enables an acquirer to acquire more of a target language. It is a proper subset of input. Input may include a great deal of language that is of no help in the acquisition process. We know, for example, that a strange language heard on the radio is input, but not intake -- no one could ever learn or acquire a language from such a source. Less obviously, at least some language from television is also input but not intake -- it is inappropriate for acquisition -- my own children watched Villa Alegre faithfully for years, and acquired about as much as I did. They can count from one to 10 in Spanish and recognize a few words, like casa and mesa. Even language from the real world can fail as intake: my parents spoke Yiddish around the house for years, occasionally to each other (for secrets) and constantly to my grandparents. All my sister and I acquired of Yiddish was a few expressions. This also was input but not intake.

Some hint of what may be necessary for acquisition to occur, for input to be intake, can be found by examining properties of caretaker speech. While we have no direct evidence showing that caretaker speech is necessary for child language acquisition, it is probably quite helpful. The hypothesis proposed here is that caretaker speech contains mostly intake for the child, and a survey of its properties will give us some real clues as to what intake is. The following is my attempt to list the crucial ingredients of caretaker speech to children. It is rather over-simplified, and the interested reader is advised to refer to Cazden's summaries (Clark and Clark, 1977) and to the recently published collection by Snow and Ferguson (1977).

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of caretaker speech is that its purpose is not to explicitly teach language. Rather, it is used by caretakers to help children understand, to get the child to "do as he is told right now" (Newport, Gleitman and Gleitman, 1977). In order to do this, caretakers modify their speech.

They talk mainly about the "here-and-now" to young children, focussing on what children are doing, what has just happened, and what can be seen, touched, and heard. The here-and-now aspect of caretaker talk, as Newport et al pointed out, is a "topical constraint." "Mothers want their children to drink their juice and clean up the playroom, so these are things that are talked about." Limiting to the here-and-now also helps to ensure extralinguistic support to aid comprehension.

Caretakers use short, simple sentences that become more complex as the child gets older ("maternal accommodation"). However, this does not mean that syntax is "finely tuned" to the child's progress. It has been noted that mean length of utterance (MLU) is generally slightly in advance of the child's MLU in caretaker speech, but there does not seem to be a neat sequence of structure presentation in the input followed by sequential acquisition by the child. The relation between input order and acquisition does not make sense, however, as Newport et al have elegantly shown. For example, many input studies have shown that caretaker speech contains an apparent paucity of subject-verb-object (SVO) sentences and a plethora of questions. At first glance, this seems to present a problem for the acquirer, since logically one would expect more canonical forms for the beginner, as many teaching sequences provide. However, providing many questions at first may be very useful for the beginner: the yes/no question places the auxiliary in the salient initial position, and Newport et al report that the development of the auxiliary is highly correlated with the frequence of yes/no questions in the input (r=.88, which is extremely high for this kind of research), but not correlated with the frequency of wh questions (where the auxiliary is in the less salient medial position) or imperatives (which lack the auxiliary entirely).

Caretakers repeat themselves frequently in terms of syntactic patterns used.

It is not clear whether this repetition is actually helpful in child language acquisition. Several scholars have suggested that frequent repetition is a result of the child's failure to understand. Parents repeat more when they feel they need to.

Caretakers slow down by inserting longer pauses. Pimsleur, Hancock and Furey (1977) recommended that second language teachers "speak at a normal rate from the start -- but that they train themselves to pause more frequently than they would in normal conversation." See Stevick's (1974) discussion of the value of silence in his review of The Silent Way.

"In correcting children's language, adults seem primarily concerned with the ability to communicate with a listener" (Clark and Clark, 1977). This corroborates Brown's findings, surveyed earlier. If caretaker speech is indeed helpful in encouraging acquisition, whether it is intended to or not, one could speculate that intake, optimal input for acquisition, may have the following characteristics.

1. Intake is understood by the acquirer. This is done by means of the acquirer's current competence and extralinguistic competence. Stated differently, if an acquirer is at a stage G_i of grammatical development, he or she can progress to the next stage $G_i + 1$ by understanding $G_i + 1$ syntax with the aid of context. Caretakers help guarantee comprehension of their speech to children by tying it into context -- to the here-and-now. Points 2 through 4 follow from point 1.

2. Intake is at or slightly in advance of G_i, the acquirer's current stage of grammatical competence. There is some very interesting evidence from child language acquisition research that indicates that children are in fact "tuned in" to input that is at their stage or "just beyond" and that, in fact, they "tune out" to language that is far beyond their level (Shipley, Smith and Gleitman, 1969).

3. Intake is sequenced; it gets progressively more complex. This derives from the "maternal accommodation" effect noted above. Note, however, that the optimal sequence is not obvious, and not derivable from a linguistic description alone (see discussion above of Newport, et al's findings on yes/no questions and AUX development).

4. Intake is natural communication. This point derives from the well-established fact that caretakers employ caretaker speech in order to communicate with their children and not to teach them language. Acquisition seems to occur best when language users focus on the message and not on the form.

Wagner-Gough and Hatch (1975) have pointed out that caretaker speech is often available to the child second-language acquirer in the informal environment, but it is not necessarily available to the adult, and it is my view that one of our main responsibilities -- if not our most important one — is to provide the adult acquirer with intake, either inside the classroom or outside. Current research suggests that the second-language classroom often does provide intake at least some of the time. It is, nevertheless, a useful exercise to consider various classroom activities and to what extent they satisfy the requirements for intake. If acquisition is indeed central as our research has suggested, we need to know to what extent we are encouraging acquisition in the second-language classroom.

Analysis of Classroom Activities in Terms of "Intake"

Free Conversation. For elementary and intermediate level second-language acquirers, free conversation may or may not meet the first three requirements for intake. Free conversation in the target language is often not understood, may or may not be at the acquirer's level or just beyond it and is practically never progressive. A skilled teacher may be able to control his or her own speech to meet these requirements, but this is a challenging task. The same comments apply to language heard on the radio or TV: it will be optimal intake only when these requirements are met.

Free conversation, radio or TV might be quite useful for the high-intermediate or advanced acquirer, and may, in fact, be the only way certain structures can be acquired, as material preparation for some parts of the target language may be difficult and simply may not exist.

Manipulative and Mechanical Drill. At the other extreme, manipulation or mechanical exercises, where there is no attempt to actually communicate an idea (including substitution and repetition drills) also fail to completely satisfy intake requirements. Such use of language in isolation may be understood for its propositional content, but soon loses this effect. Paulston warns that overuse of this drill type produces tedium. Requirement 4, natural communication, is not met at all by manipulative-mechanical drills; by definition such practice is not an attempt to communicate.

Meaningful and Communicative Drills. Meaningful and communicative drills, activities in which students can tell the truth or role play, have the potential for satisfying all the characteristics listed. They are designed to be understood, may be put at any level, may be progressive, and may involve real communication or something close to it. These types should be the most effective for acquisition. They are also the most difficult to construct.

There are two very practical implications of this discussion. The first is the point that simply being a native speaker of a language is insufficient background for being a teacher of that language. Teacher monologues which are not controlled for syntax and vocabulary are not likely to foster learning in students. "Free conversation" periods where students are told merely to "discuss" or to "use a structure," are likely to be ineffective as well. Free conversation is not an effective technique. Second, it is no easy task to construct interesting, effective, communicative and meaningful drills. As Newport et al's research suggests, the proper intake sequence is not obvious. Also, it is very hard to make up interesting situations at the appropriate level for each class session. For this reason, I generally encourage teachers not to feel they have to come up with their own materials each day.

Note also that combining free conversation and mechanical drill "covers," albeit awkwardly, the requirements for acquisition. This corresponds to the old "structure class-conversation class" combination, which does result in some acquisition, but uses an inefficient, painful approach. It is a relatively easy way to teach, but not an easy way to acquire. The use of meaningful and communicative drills is more difficult for the materials designer and teacher, but more comfortable for the student.

One could conceivably argue that no materials at all is best. Since we do not know what the optimal teaching sequence is and -- even if we did -- materials are so hard to create, why not follow Roger Brown's advice to mothers wanting to know how to teach their children language? "Believe that your child can understand more than he or she can say, and seek, above all, to communicate.... There is no set of rules of how to talk to a child that can even approach what you unconsciously know. If you concentrate on communicating, everything else will follow." Does it, therefore, follow that instead of trying to determine the natural syllabus and design materials, that we should substitute the sympathetic native speaker? As we have seen above, there are problems with this approach: native speakers do not, as a rule, use caretaker speech with older acquirers. There is, however, no substitute of the real communicative situation and various methods have been suggested to encourage native speakers to utilize their instinctive abilities to provide intake. See, for example, Terrell (1977) on the "Natural Method," and my recent paper on language-learning buttons.

The Importance of Meaningful Input/Intake: Does Speaking Help?

The major point of this section is the claim that it is intake that is fundamental to acquisition. Actual speaking may help the acquisition process, but only indirectly; it may encourage appropriate input.

I will first briefly comment on some first-language research that seems to suggest that acquisition proceeds through conversational interaction, implying that actual speaking is important. I will then mention some interesting research that is quite consistent with the intake hypothesis.

Scollon has presented some interesting evidence that seems to indicate that children acquire syntax via interaction with other speakers, by "active practice." Early child utterances are "vertical" -- they are single word utterances that make sense when one considers the entire discourse. Adults react to these single world utterances by asking for a constituent to fill out the child's construction:

child	adult
hiding	
	What's hiding?
balloon	

In this way, the child "learns how to construct" -- to make horizontal structures. In later stages, vertical constructions may have horizontal subcomponents:

child	adult
tape corder use it, use it	
	Use it for what?
talk corder talk Brenda talk	

Scollon's claim is that vertical constructions prepare horizontal constructions, suggesting that "discourse structure is at the heart of sentence structure from the beginning of its development." A similar phenomenon has been noted for child second language by Hatch (forthcoming).

My position is that the existence of such vertical-horizontal transitions does not demonstrate that speaking is necessary on the part of the child. There is little doubt that speaking is very useful for acquisition, but its main function is that it allows conversation which encourages intake. In other words, the apparent movement from vertical to horizontal constructions may be a manifestation and not a cause of language acquisition. Theoretically, nonverbal participation may be a sufficient prod for the caretaker to provide the acquirer with intake. Consider, for example, the following (theoretical) exchange.

child	adult
(cries, points to a balloon)	
	balloon
(more crying, pointing)	
	Baby want balloon? You want a balloon?

One can imagine this child encouraging a great deal of contextualized, simple input, with many of the characteristics of intake.

Besides the possibility of this alternative interpretation of Scollon and Hatch, there are several other reasons to consider the intake hypothesis as a serious one. First, as mentioned earlier, there are several studies showing that delaying speech in second-language acquisition instruction, when active listening is provided, causes no delay in attaining proficiency in second-language acquisition and may even be beneficial. Also, there are other cultures where active listening is stressed. Here is Sorenson's (1967) report on the American Indians in the Vaupes River area: "The Indians do not practice speaking a language they do not know well yet. Instead, they passively learn lists of words, forms, phrases in it and familiarize themselves with the sound of its pronunciation...They may make an occasional attempt to speak a new language in an appropriate situation, but if it does not come easily, they will not force it."

Finally, there is the well-established fact from child language acquisition studies that comprehension precedes production. Production, in fact, need never occur. Lenneberg (1962) describes the case of congenital anarthria in an eight-year-old boy who never spoke, but who could understand spoken English perfectly well. Lenneberg noted that:

> [A] similar phenomenon in more attenuated form is extremely common. Understanding normally precedes speaking by several weeks or months. This discrepancy is regularly increased in literally all types of developmental speech disorders and is best illustrated in children who have structural deformities in the oral cavity or pharynx and who produce unintelligible speech for years -- sometimes for life -- without the slightest impairment of understanding. Congenitally deaf children also learn to comprehend language in the ab-

sence of vocal skills...However, there is no clear evidence that speaking is ever present in the absence of understanding.

Children acquiring second languages in informal environments typically exhibit a "silent period" lasting a few months, a period during which acquired competence is built up via active listening until a sufficient "amount" is present for utterance initiation. Hakuta (1974) reports that his subject, Uguisu, a Japanese speaking five-year-old acquiring English as a second language, did not speak any English to any extent until three months after her exposure to English began. Paul, a five-year-old Chinese speaker acquiring English studied by Huang and Hatch (forthcoming), also said little except for routines and imitations for about two months.

Our conclusions regarding the importance of input and the relatively minor direct role played by speaking are entirely consistent with the earlier conclusions on the role of the first language in second-language performance: "too early" speaking may lead to over-reliance on the first language and what appears to be "interference." Allowing the adult a silent period, during which acquired competence is built up via active listening and reading, may be the best means for dealing with first language "interference." Of course, this is a luxury that few second-language acquirers in the real world can afford -- performance demands may begin quite early, and we need to provide useful routines and patterns, and even allow the use of the "bizarre mode" (use of the L_1 and the Monitor) so the performer can survive in his environment. This should be done with the recognition that this is pseudo-language, and the classroom can provide meaningful input so that true language acquisition can provide the adult with acquired competence that will eventually form the basis of fluent and comfortable performance.

Is Intake Sufficient for Acquisition?

An implication of this discussion is that if the requirements for intake are met, acquisition will occur. This is not entirely correct. The acquirer must be open to the intake, his "affective filter" (Dulay and Burt, 1977) must be down. For this reason, attitudinal variables are crucially important. The best methodology in the world is wasted when the student is "on the defensive" (Stevick, 1976), when he is not open to the input. The apparent success of certain newer teaching methods stems from the fact that they both provide intake and also contribute toward creating an environment conducive for acquisition. This is one of the main themes of Stevick's Memory, Meaning and Method (1976).

Conscious Learning in the Classroom: Does Learning Become Acquisition?

Conscious learning is quite different from acquisition and may be a totally independent system. Conscious learning is clearly helped by overt teaching, and we might even hypothesize that output, not input/intake, helps learning, as spoken or written output provides a domain for error correction.

A major goal of our research is to determine the true contribution of conscious learning, as we have seen above. Whatever the quantity of its contribution to adult second-language performance, the Monitor Model predicts that it is in one domain only, as a conscious Monitor. Conscious learning does not initiate utterances or produce fluency. It also does not contribute directly to acquisition.

Some Benefits of Conscious Learning

Conscious learning has at least three real benefits, although they may apply only to certain subgroups of students. First, for the optimal Monitor users, the application of conscious rules to one's output can result in a real increase in accuracy. In the case of "P," discussed in Krashen and Pon (1975) conscious learning meant the difference between writing like a native speaker and writing like a non-native speaker. "P" made errors in casual speech, but was able to successfully apply conscious grammatical rules to her written output to such an extent that she was able to produce the illusion of being a native speaker. Of course, individuals vary with respect to this ability, and even in the case of the optimal Monitor user, the actual amount of increase we can expect is modest. Nevertheless, many rules can be taught and, while little increase in communication effectiveness is generally achieved, the resulting impression this correct performance creates can be important. Much correct punctuation (capitalization, placement of parentheses, apostrophes) can easily be taught, as the rules are straight-forward and not always acquired. Others, such as correct use of the comma, may need to be acquired. Spelling can also be learned. An important goal for applied linguistics is to determine which aspects of grammar are most easily teachable and which cause the greatest increase in accuracy — from our experiments and my own experience, I would suggest that such a list would include the third person singular morpheme, count and mass nouns, regular and irregular past tense of verbs. All of these items tend to be acquired late and are relatively easy to conceptualize and learn. Students could be encouraged to correct their written output with such a list in mind. Again, however, we need to guard against over-use, and the hesitant style in speech that comes from overconcern with correctness.

Another important use for conscious learning is to teach about language to those students who have an interest in structure for its own sake. Most readers of this paper would probably want to study the structure of a language they were acquiring. The goal of an optional module in the structure of a target language would be "language appreciation," with the understanding that such knowledge would not necessarily be available for use in actual performance. I would guess that most students would profit from including conscious knowledge of the language in their syllabus of the sort mentioned above: easy rules to be explicitly used for editing in appropriate situations. A small minority would want more information and be interested in a detailed grammatical description of the target language.

A third potential use for conscious learning is to give over-users some confidence in the creative construction process. I have had the experience of teaching rules to advanced ESL students, and to have them comment, "Oh yes, that's exactly right, that's exactly how it works." Such responses indicated to me that the students had already acquired the structure I was attempting to teach, but had not learned it until my lesson. A good example is a lesson I used to give on the three meanings of the present progressive: "John is playing the violin" is three ways ambiguous. It could mean future ("What is John doing tomorrow?" "He's playing the violin for the LA symphony."); an action that began a short while ago, but will conclude soon ("What's that noise from the other room?" "Oh, John is playing the violin."); or an action that began quite a while ago, may not be going on just now, and will conclude some time in the future ("What is your brother John up to these days?" "He's playing the violin for the LA symphony."). Advanced foreign students studying ESL generally do not consciously know that the progressive can have these three meanings, but many of them have acquired this knowledge and use the progressive appropriately in all these three ways. They are usually quite surprised to know that they have this tacit knowledge of English, and students are often glad to have it pointed out to them. The only benefit I can see that such teaching may give, aside from the "language appreciation" discussed above, is that an occasional over-user may be brought to understand that subconscious language acquisition is indeed a reality, and that he has a great deal of acquired competence that is worthy of his trust.

PART TWO: THE LANGUAGE LEARNER AND THE WORLD

Third Session: Affective Factors in Second Language Acquisition

Fourth Session: What Can We Learn from the Good Language Learner?

Sourcebook Readings:

Brown, Douglas H. "Affective Variables in Second Language Acquisition."

Macnamara, John. "Attitudes and Learning a Second Language."

Schumann, Francine M. and John H. Schumann. "Diary of a Language Learner: An Introspective Study of Second Language Learning."

Rubin, Joan. "What the 'Good Language Learner' Can Teach Us."

Naiman, N., M. Frohlich, H. H. Stern, and A. Todesco. The Good Language Learner.

Stern, H. H. "What Can We Learn from the Good Language Learner?"

THINKING ABOUT LEARNING A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

This questionnaire is divided into two parts. The first part contains questions about the foreign language you know best. The questions concern not only the language, but also the people who speak it and their culture. The questions are very general, and we want you to give your immediate reaction, so respond to the questions as rapidly as you can.

In the second part, we will ask you some questions about a language you don't know. In fact, the questions will concern a language which you would find very difficult to learn. Again, you should respond to these questions rapidly, and try to give your immediate reaction.

Part One: Your Best Foreign Language

Here are a few statements about the foreign language you know best. Indicate whether you agree or disagree with each statement, and then write a short comment.

1. When I first began to study this language, I had special reasons for choosing it.

Agree |______|______|______|______| Disagree

Comment:

2. Whenever I get the chance, I'd like to live in a community where this language is spoken.

Agree |______|______|______|______| Disagree

Comment:

3. I feel comfortable speaking with a native speaker of this language.

Agree |____|____|____|____| Disagree

Comment:

4. On the whole, I've used the language more for social reasons than for school or work.

Agree |____|____|____|____| Disagree

Comment:

5. You have to really understand the culture in order to speak the language well.

Agree |____|____|____|____| Disagree

Comment:

6. I sometimes feel that I can "think like" a native speaker of the language.

Agree |____|____|____|____| Disagree

Comment:

7. Some of my best friends are native speakers of this language.

Agree |____|____|____|____| Disagree

Comment:

8. When I speak this language, I have a strong "foreign accent".

Agree |______|______|______|______| Disagree

Comment:

9. If you don't use the language regularly, you'll forget it.

Agree |______|______|______|______| Disagree

Comment:

10. Everyone should know at least one foreign language well.

Agree |______|______|______|______| Disagree

Comment:

Part Two: A Hard Foreign Language

This is an exercise to see what you know about a language you don't know. From the list of foreign languages choose the one which you think would be hardest for you to learn. Then try to answer the questions which follow about the language and the people who speak it.

Choose the hardest language: Russian
Chinese
Arabic

Now answer the questions as rapidly as you can.

1. Make a list of 5 or 6 adjectives that describe a typical Arabic speaker.

2. What does Arabic sound like? Make a list of words that describe the way Arabic sounds to you.

3. What are the Arabs best known for? List some well-known contributions of Arab culture.

4. Name some Arabs you admire.

5. List some qualities of Arabs and Arab culture that you don't like.

6. Now list some of their qualities that you do like.

7. Why would Arabic be a hard language for you to learn?

Part Two

The Learner and the World

Douglas H. Brown. "Affective Variables in Second Language Acquisition." Language Learning 23, 2 (December 1973): 231-244.

If language was merely an abstract system, we would be satisfied simply to record its rules and the order that the rules are usually acquired. But language takes place in the world of social interaction. People, after all, talk to other people. Language and language acquisition exist in a social context. Learning a second language has profound psychological and social dimensions. Douglas Brown is surely right when he says that we need to develop a rich understanding of the language learner, in order to gain insight into "the mysteries of second language acquisition." We need, he argues

> information about the human person which, when creatively interrelated with our accumulated knowledge in theoretical linguistics, sociolinguistics (the study of language behavior in society), psycholinguistics, and the psychology of learning, will enable us to construct a viable theory of second language acquisition.

Brown describes some of the factors which every one of us brings to the study of a foreign language. These include deep traits of our personality, our sense of self, and our degree of inhibition. Brown calls these elements egocentric factors in language acquisition, and some of them, such as our motivation for language study, seem to have a direct impact on language learning. There are also social factors involved, including our attitudes toward the language we are studying, and towards the people who speak it. Other social factors include the way we usually relate to other people in social situations, whether we are typically introverted or extroverted, for example. And, finally, our cognitive style, the way in which we go about learning anything, plays a part in how we study a second language. Brown supposes that each set of factors is related to second language acquisition and second language use. He calls for a full program of basic research in each area, and, as we will see, a number of researchers have taken up his suggestion.

Several areas of the learner's make-up have received a good deal of attention. For example, the motivation of a learner, an "egocentric factor", has long been thought to play a critical role in language study. A learner may be said to have different types of motivation to learn another language. One type of motivation

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has been called integrative motivation. This means that the learner wants to be identified as a member of the community that speaks the language, or wants to gain friends among members of that community. An American Jew, for example, who immigrates to Israel and becomes an Israeli citizen, may well have an integrative motivation for learning Modern Hebrew. The immigrant identifies himself with the community in which he has chosen to live, and learning Hebrew is a major part of his integration.

Instrumental motivation is of a different type. A learner who needs to know a second language for a particular purpose - to study at a foreign university, or to get a job in a foreign country - can be said to be instrumentally motivated. Many of the recent refugees to America from Indochina have instrumental reasons for learning English. Many refugees left their country on a few days', or even a few hours' notice. They had never planned to immigrate to the United States, and felt that their stay in America might be a short one. They would return to Indochina when the political environment changed. But in order to sustain themselves in the U.S. they need to get training and find a job. So they need enough English to work in a particular work setting. They have tended to get just enough English to do that, and very little more. These learners have not set social integration as their goal. Instead, they have approached the study of English as a means, or instrument, of gaining employment. A similar pattern is common in Europe, where foreign workers make up a significant portion of the work force in many industrial countries. Workers come to work in a country for a time, and then return home. These "guest workers" typically have an instrumental reason for studying the language. "Guest workers" in Germany need German for their jobs, but they often have little social contact with Germans outside the work place. They tend to limit their proficiency in German to what they need for work, and show little interest in perfecting their German outside that domain.

There are probably other fundamental types of motivation involved in language learning. Some researchers have described developmental motivation: one studies a foreign language for reasons of personal growth or personal satisfaction. Many students begin foreign language study in college and decide to keep building and maintaining their proficiency. They may never truly identify themselves as members of the foreign language community, nor really need the language for some other purpose. Rather, they simply enjoy speaking another language, and regard it as part of their education.

The reasons that a learner has for studying a foreign language appear to influence the learner in a number of ways. A learner with integrative motivation, for example, might well be very concerned about developing a near native accent in the language, since a "foreign accent" would tend to interfere with his identification with the speech community. A learner with instrumental motivation, the desire, say, to study economics at a foreign university, might be less concerned with achieving a perfect accent, and more interested in mastering the terms relating to economics in the language.

Brown's argument is that personality factors, such as the various types of motivation, need to be taken into consideration in order to fully understand the language learner, and, therefore, to clarify the task of acquiring a second language. A broader understanding of such factors is now being sought.

What Can We Learn from the Good Language Learner?

Joan Rubin, "What the "Good Language Learner" Can Teach Us." TESOL Quarterly, 9, 1 (March 1975): 41-51.

N. Naiman, M. Frohlich, H. H. Stern, and A. Todesco. The Good Language Learner. (Research in Education Series/7). Toronto, Ontario: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1978. (Excerpts).

H. H. Stern. "What Can We Learn from the Good Language Learner?" Canadian Modern Language Review. 31 (1975): 304-318.

Systematic studies of the learner have now been undertaken by a number of researchers and language teachers. Joan Rubin, who is a language teacher with many years' experience, kept careful records of her students over a number of years, with the view of discovering how good language learners approach language study. She was looking for learning strategies that successful learners use, and her goal was to identify and define these strategies and techniques so that other learners could employ them as well. She believed that

> by looking at what is going on inside the good language learner, by considering how he is successful, what strategies he uses to learn a language, we may be led to well-developed theories of the processing of linguistic information which can be taught to others. Perhaps we can then establish procedures to train others to use these or similar procedures to acquire a second language.

Rubin's primary focus, then, is on what she is able to observe of the classroom and study behavior of successful learners. She is concerned with overt aspects of what Brown has called "cognitive style." Although her approach is valid for the sort of study she has undertaken, she doesn't consider other aspects -- personality traits, several cognitive styles that are not overtly observable. She didn't conduct psychological tests, for example. From her experience as a teacher, and her observation of many language learners, she develops a set of general strategies that good learners employ.

1. The good language learner is a willing and accurate guesser.
2. The good language learner has a strong drive to communicate, or to learn from communication. He or she is willing to do many things to get the message across.
3. The good language learner is often not inhibited. He is willing to appear foolish if reasonable communication results. He is willing to make mistakes in order to learn and to communicate. He is willing to live with a certain amount of vagueness.
4. In addition to focusing on communication, the good language learner is prepared to attend to form. The good language learner is constantly looking for patterns in the language.
5. The good language learner practices.
6. The good language learner monitors his own and the speech of others. That is, he is constantly attending to how well his speech is being received and whether his performance meets the standards he has learned.
7. The good language learner attends to meaning. He knows that in order to understand the message, it is not sufficient to pay attention to the grammar of the language or to the surface form of speech.

A group of researchers at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) studied a group of successful language learners in a much more comprehensive w They believed that factors such as those identified by Brown do have an impact on language learning, and they set out to gather empirical data on them.

The OISE group carefully tested each of the participants in the study, for language proficiency, and for a variety of psychological and cognitive traits. They also observed the participants in formal learning situations, and they observed a number of other language classes as well. Extensive interviews with the participants were carried out, as well, in order to get a broad view of their experiences in learning and using one or more foreign languages.

The OISE researchers wanted to find out "what makes good language learners tick...what they do that poor learners don't." And they were also attempting to find strategies that could be taught to mediocre learners to make them more successful. Their study did not fully achieve its goals, however. "We set out to discover the strategies of good language learners; they proved hard to identify.

But along the way we discovered other things which may help us to understand second language learning processes better."

Among their "other" findings were these. They demonstrated empirically that attitude and motivation, which had always been assumed to be significant factors, did in fact play predictable roles in language learning. They found that successful learners used a great variety of techniques and strategies in a foreign language. Many of these techniques were used by poor learners as well, but successful learners employed learning strategies more systematically. Finally, they showed how complex factors related to personality, learning style, and social attitudes are implicated in language study and language acquisition. The research approach adopted by the OISE group is likely to continue to yield greater understanding of learners and language acquisition.

Stern, who was one of the principal researchers in the OISE study, writes about some of the preliminary findings of the project. He offers a list of learner strategies that is somewhat similar to Rubin's. Here we find research psychologists and classroom teachers in basic agreement. A successful learner, Stern writes, approaches the task with:

(1) A personal learning style or positive learning strategies;
(2) An active approach to the learning task;
(3) A tolerant and outgoing approach to the target language and empathy with its speakers;
(4) Technical know-how about how to tackle a language;
(5) Strategies of experimentation and planning with the object of developing the new language into an ordered system and of revising this system progressively;
(6) A willingness constantly to search for meaning;
(7) A willingness to practice;
(8) A willingness to use the language in real communication;
(9) Self-monitoring and critical sensitivity to language use; and
(10) A desire to develop the target language more and more as a separate reference system and to learn to think in it.

There is a question as to how useful these generalities may be to the student actually engaged in trying to learn a foreign language. But they provide a context for understanding learner behavior. Other researchers, such as Andrew Cohen, are actively attempting to describe specific techniques for language study. Cohen proposes a training program built around such techniques for beginning language learners. The purpose of learner training is to "easify" foreign language study.

The Social Context of Language Learning

John Macnamara. "Attitudes and Learning a Second Language." In Shuy and Fasold, (eds.). Language Attitudes: Current Trends and Prospects. Washington, D.C., Georgetown University, 1973, 36-40.

Francine M. Schumann and John H. Schumann. "Diary of a Language Learner: An Introspective Study of Second Language Learning." In Brown, Yorio, and Crymes, (eds.). On TESOL '77, Teaching and Learning English as a Second Language: Trends in Research and Practice. Washington, D.C., TESOL, 241-249. (Excerpts).

Not everyone is convinced that attitude and motivation are so critical in language learning. John Macnamara is skeptical about many of the assumptions that the OISE study were based on. He looks at other sorts of evidence, such as the history of second language learning in certain societies, as well as psycholinguistic theories of first and second language acquisition. He feels that all of us have the ability to learn another language, but the reason that many of us are not very successful has more to do with the way languages are taught than problems that learners bring with them to the classroom. "Our task is to make the language class a more natural, communicative environment. This means...that we must stop talking about attitudes and talk much more about communicating. My belief is that when we really learn this lesson, individual (learner) differences in linguistic attainment will cease to be noticeable."

John and Francine Schumann look at their own practical experience as language learners, and they find the learning environment, including a variety of seemingly minor annoyances, had a lot to do with their attempts to study foreign languages. The Schumanns kept diaries as they studied two "difficult" languages, Farsi and Arabic. In a sense, their research is exactly the opposite of the approach taken by the OISE group. Instead of studying a large group of learners, using a set of objective measures, the Schumanns broke "away from the methods of experimental psychology...and focussed on self-observation as a research tool and a source of scientific data."

They discovered some surprising things about themselves as learners. One found that it was necessary to be settled in, to have a regular routine and a place to study, before any effective learning could take place. The other, however, happily studied while in transit, in airports, on the train, in busses.

One was more sensitive to the teaching methods than the other one was. One was able to adapt to an unappealing instructional approach, but the other withdrew from the class rather than adapt. Both found that passive learning, "eaves dropping", as opposed to active speaking, was a useful acquisition strategy.

A great deal of language acquisition research deals with groups of learners, and identifies general aspects of successful language learning. But acquiring and using a second language is a highly individual matter. The Schumanns try to capture the reality of language learning for any of us. In a sense, they personalize learner research. "Previous research identified and investigated... a variety of psychological variables," they write. But their own person-centered research "reveals that there are PERSONAL variables that interact with all of the [psychological variables] in patterns that are highly idiosyncratic for each individual."

Selected Readings for Session Three

Brown, Douglas H. "Affective Variables in Second Language Acquisition"

Macnamara, John. "Attitudes and Learning a Second Language"

Schumann, Francine M. and John H. Schumann. "Diary of a Language Learner: An Introspective Study of Second Language Learning"

Brown, H. Douglas. "Affective Variables in Second Language Acquisition" in Language Learning, 23, 2 (December 1973), 231-244 (selections).

Any survey of the current state of the art in language teaching leaves little doubt that the profession is undergoing a revolution. The present revolution is taking place according to a predictable twenty-five-year timetable: around 1900 the "direct" method was popular; some twenty-five years later "grammar translation" methods were taking hold; and in the 1950's the now well-established audiolingual method came into vogue. The late 1970's should usher in a new paradigm.

While the nature of the next "method" is still unknown, there is clearly a strong tendency toward interdisciplinary solutions to language teaching problems, with psychology occupying a key role, as it did with audiolingual method. However, new schools of psychology have arisen since the 1950's, providing a different thrust, especially in the psychology of learning. The cognitive approach to human learning has important implications for both a theory of second language acquisition and more effective approaches to language teaching. But an equally important psychological domain to explore in trying to understand the process of second language acquisition is the affective domain. We must acknowledge that while all the optimal cognitive factors may be operating in the attempted solution of a given task, the learner can fail because of an affective block. There is an increasing awareness of the necessity to examine the human personality to find answers to perplexing problems in language learning.

The research carried out to date is only a beginning. Much more experimentation is needed before we can adequately define a theory of second language acquisition and devise language teaching methods which are solidly grounded in both cognitive and affective principles. One of the greatest difficulties in striving for such a goal is subdividing and categorizing the factors of the affective domain. We are often guilty of using rather sweeping terms as if they were carefully defined. For example, it is easy enough to say that "culture conflict" accounts for most language learning problems, or that "motivation" is the key to success in a foreign language; but it is quite another matter to define such terms with precision. Psychologists also experience a difficulty in defining terms. Abstract concepts such as "ego," "aggression," "identification," and other common terms are difficult to define operationally. Standardized psychological tests often form an empirical definition of such concepts, but constant revisions are evidence of an ongoing struggle for validity. Nevertheless, the elusive nature of affective and cognitive concepts need not deter us from seeking answers to questions. Carefully controlled, systematic study of delimited areas of second language acquisition will ultimately lead to a greater understanding of the phenomenon and, consequently, to more effective language teaching methods.

The discussion that follows deals with a few subcategories from the affective domain that demand immediate attention from researchers. Three general affective areas will be discussed; a) egocentric factors, b) social factors, and c) cognitive style.

Egocentric Factors

Imitation is one egocentric factor which needs exploration in reference to second language acquisition. Textbooks in personality development refer to a significant body of research in imitative behavior, and studies in first language acquisition have considered the role of imitation in the acquisition of language. In second language acquisition, however, very little consideration has been given to imitation. It has been questionably assumed that one can learn the patterns of a foreign language chiefly or exclusively by imitation. This assumption has little relationship to the deeper issue of the degree and direction of *affective* imitative behavior in human beings.

We have not even begun to explore the full implications of individual differences among persons in reproducing action, attitudes, or linguistic behavior exhibited by models of various kinds. For example, a novel understanding of "culture" could emerge from a comparative study of imitation and identification across cultures. Also, many language teaching methods depend upon both affective imitation and linguistic repetition (a form of psycho-motor imitation); how could such methods be made optimally effective? Children have been found to be rather poor linguistic imitators (McNeill 1966), attending to truth value more than to surface structure data; could it be that imitation in second language learning plays a similarly deep-seated role and that mechanical oral repetition is of little consequence?

A second factor related to the thinking and feeling human organism is the "ego." The self-knowledge, self-esteem, and self-confidence of the language learner could have everything to do with success in learning a language. Guiora proposed the notion of "language ego" to refer to the very personal, egoistic nature of second language acquisition. Any language acquisition process that results in meaningful learning for communication involves some degree of identity conflict regardless of the age and motivation of the learner. Even in cases of "instrumentally" motivated language learning, a person is forced to take on a new identity if he is to become competent in a second language. The very definition of communication implies a process of revealing one's self to another. Breakdowns in communication often result from a person's unwillingness to be "honest" in revealing this self. A strong language ego is thus conceivably positively correlated with success in second language learning.

One specific area of potential research on egocentric factors in second language acquisition is that of the role of "motivation" in language learning. According to Ausubel, one of the key factors contributing to motivation for any task is a basic ego-enhancement drive: a person diligently strives for those things that tend to build or restore self-esteem. Reports and studies on motivation have typically dealt with intelligence, aptitude, perseverance, attitude, cognitive style, and a number of other variables, but ego-enhancement has been dealt with only briefly. An unpublished study (Lederer 1973) which used some of Lambert's instruments revealed that the "self-concept" of Detroit high school students was an overwhelming indicator of success in a foreign langauge. More research on ego-enhancement might further define how to appeal to ego-enhancement and how to incorporate ego-enhancing variables into materials and methods of language teaching.

A third area of needed research on egocentricity is the problem of inhibition within the human organism. Guiora produced one of the few studies on inhibition in relation to second language learning. Claiming that the notion of ego boundaries is crucial to the language learning task, Guiora designed an experiment using small quantities of alcohol to induce temporary states of less than normal inhibition in an experimental group of subjects. Performance of the alcohol-induced subjects on a pronunciation test in Thai was significantly better than the performance of a control group. Guiora concluded a direct relationship existed between inhibition (a component of language ego) and pronunciation ability in a second language. There were some serious problems in his conclusion: alcohol may lower inhibitions but alcohol also tends to affect muscular tension, and the latter may have been a more important factor than the former in the superior pronunciation performance of the alcohol-induced subjects; and pronunciation may be a rather poor indicator of overall language competence. Nevertheless, Guiora has emphasized an important variable which now needs further exploration. Inhibition may be one of the key obstacles to any learning which necessitates communication or interaction with another person.

Social factors

The human being is a social animal and the chief mechanism for maintaining the bonds of society is language. Each language reflects and interacts with the particular society with which the language is associated. The process of second language acquisition must, therefore, by definition, involve an interaction with a new society and a linguistic and extra-linguistic understanding of that speech community. Highly sophisticated linguistic methods of language teaching have often failed to accomplish the goal of communicativity in the learner because of the highly social nature of language. While most language teachers recognize the importance of the social aspect of language, they tend to place all socially oriented language learning problems into the single category of "culture" differentiation. Such a generalization is not justified if one considers the extremely complex nature of culture. Attention to some rather obvious yet little-researched psychological variables of social behavior might reveal some important social factors in language acquisition. Three such variables will be discussed: empathy, introversion/extroversion, and aggression. All three are strongly related to egocentric factors by definition, but they all involve one individual's relationship with other individuals.

Empathy is the process of "putting yourself into someone else's shoes," of reaching beyond the self and understanding and feeling what another person is understanding or feeling; it is probably the major factor in the harmonious coexistence of individuals in society. Language is one of the primary means of empathizing. Kinesic, kinesthetic, proxemic, and other paralinguistic modes of communication facilitate the process of empathizing, and must not be overlooked.

If indeed a high degree of empathy is predictive of success in language learning, it would be invaluable to discover how one could capitalize on that fact in language teaching. It is one thing to claim to be able to predict success, and quite another matter to cause success by fostering empathy in the language classroom. One would need first to determine if empathy is a basic disposition acquired in early childhood and/or relatively unchangeable, or if it is something one can "learn" in the adult years. If the former is true, then certain persons might indeed be more predisposed to language learning, and teachers could take this fact into account. If the latter is true, then it would not be unreasonable to carry out research on the incorporation of empathy into language teaching methods.

How effective is role playing in a language class? What kinds of drills and exercises could be devised which require a person to predict or guess another person's response? How worthwhile would it be to attempt to organize foreign language classes which operate on a high-empathy basis, where principles of T-group therapy are used to aid the language learning process? Other questions arise, all of which need to be carefully researched.

A second social variable that has not received much attention in language acquisition research is introversion and extroversion. It is a common belief among teachers in general, particularly in Western society, that introversion is an undesirable behavior. The outgoing, amiable, talkative personality tends to be held up as axiomatically desirable and ideal from the standpoint of mental hygiene. This "cult of extroversion" carries over into the language classroom as well. Quiet, reserved personalities are treated as "problems" and language teachers seek ways of encouraging extroversion. The syndrome is further complicated by the tendency in modern language teaching to emphasize speaking in the classroom with all too little emphasis on aural comprehension.

Educational psychologists tend to agree that a child's introversion and extroversion may be "a grossly misleading index of social adjustment". It is equally conceivable that the role of introversion and extroversion may be misinterpreted in language classes. Is it indeed true that the "proficiency" of a more introverted person is qualitatively lower than his extroverted counterpart? And do those students whom a teacher assumes to be introverted actually classify as such, if the loaded variable of culture is taken fully into account? Teachers are prone to stereotype certain people as introverted or extroverted on the basis of their cultural background. However, a careful analysis of the socio-linguistic and extra-linguistic expectations of that culture could significantly change such judgments. Several areas of potential research emerge. First, one could explore the relationship between extroversion, as measured by psychological tests, and proficiency or aptitude in second language acquisition. A relationship may hold only for speaking a foreign language, and not for aural and reading comprehension and writing. Second, the use and encouragement of histrionics in the classroom could be studied carefully: what facilitating or interfering effect does a method have which incorporates drama, pantomime, humor, and a high degree of overt personality exposure on the part of each student? A third area of research could involve an examination of kinesic factors in communication to determine both the degree to which such factors are essential to foreign language learning, and the relationship among kinesics, communicativity, and introversion and extroversion.

Aggression is a third social variable in language learning which has received only minor attention, yet one which could be an important factor in a theory of language acquisition. Studies in child development take the question of aggression quite seriously, and a description of any adult personality would be inadequate if the notion of aggression were omitted from consideration. Aggression can be defined in a number of different ways, ranging from "a sequence of behavior the goal of which...is injury of the person toward whom it is directed" to more general definitions that include reference to responses that could injure or damage if aimed at a vulnerable object. Aggressive behavior appears in every human organism, and depending upon the individual and his society, different manifestations of aggression will be observed. But aggression should not be defined only in a negative context. Aggression, even in the "injurious" sense, is perhaps a behavior necessary for survival; for example, consistent refusal to be aggressive in mere self-defense, physically and emotionally, could result in physical or mental illness and/or death.

How does the notion of aggression relate to language learning? LaForge noted that the overt display, and thus eventual release, of hostility seemed to facilitate communication and to lead toward less inhibited and freer, albeit semi-grammatical, conversation. The potential disadvantage of thwarted aggressive instincts is intuitively understood by most teachers. However, a number of other questions related to aggression are not yet answered. To what extent does the basic aggressiveness of the individual indicate his probable success in learning a foreign language? Because of its negative connotations, aggressive behavior may be considered undesirable; yet there is ample evidence of the facilitating effects of aggression. Aggression could be a central factor determining "motivations," and foreign language teaching methods might indeed capitalize on aggressive behavior. An experimental program in reading being devised at the English Language Institute of the University of Michigan is attempting to use the natural tendency to achieve a release from frustration as a motivation to comprehend reading passages about frustrating problems with which a student can easily identify. Aggressive determination to complete the lesson successfully will bring resolution. How can teachers successfully encourage students to "let it all hang out" to an optimal degree?

Cognitive style

A third major category of affective behavior that warrants attention is the notion of "cognitive style." It is difficult to argue that cognitive style is a strictly affective factor; it is more a combination of affect and cognition. As used here, it refers generally to self-consistent and enduring individual differences in cognitive organization and functioning. For example, an algebra "story" problem, typical of high school math classes, may be solved by a number of different but equally effective strategies, depending upon the individual's cognitive style. The affective domain is relevant because variations in cognitive style appear to covary with personality types.

Some specific research is necessary before teachers and materials developers can adequately account for cognitive style. Four specific variables within cognitive style appear to be possible areas of fruitful research in second language acquisition: a) reflective-impulsive thinking, b) broad-narrow categorizing, c) skeletonizing-embroidering, and d) belief congruence-contradiction. Again, only a few of many possible variables are considered here, but in the almost total absence of research on cognitive style, these few variables might indeed provide significant points of departure.

Any observant teacher recognizes basic personality tendencies towards impulsivity on the one hand, and reflectivity on the other. A number of psychological tests are available to determine the degree to which a person tends to make either a quick, or gambling (impulsive) guess at an answer to a problem, or a slower, more calculated (reflective) decision. The implications for language acquisition are numerous. It has been found that children who are conceptually reflective tend to make fewer errors in reading than do conceptually impulsive children. On the other hand, impulsive persons may be faster readers.

A cognitive style closely related to reflectivity/impulsivity is the tendency of learners to manifest a consistent preference for either broad or narrow categorization. Narrow categorizers, like impulsive learners, are often more willing to take the risk of being wrong in problem-solving situations, by reason of an overattention to subordinate concepts. Evidence of shifting from narrow to broad categorizing is found in first language acquisition in English when children first produce past tense form of verbs as separate, narrowly categorized items, saying "drank," "caught," and "went" at one early stage, but then shift to broad classification of all verbs in a regularized category, saying "drinked," "catched," and "goed." Eventually verbs are subclassified into regular and irregular forms. Similar strategies may play a part in adult second-language acquisition, but since adults tend to be more rigid, and less likely to manifest the same degree of style-shifting, the intro-individual variation may not be quite as prevalent. In general, the relationship of broad and narrow categorization to second language acquisition has not even begun to be researched. Yet if a teacher were aware of such tendencies in an individual, he might be better able to analyze "errors" as the products of consistent cognitive strategies. Materials and textbooks could be designed to compensate for both tendencies by stressing hierarchies of structure. Thus the attention of broad categorizers could be directed to the lower subordinate categories, and narrow categorizers could be encouraged to grasp higher superordinate categories. Grammar teaching in particular could be made more efficient by the use of broad and narrow categories of data.

A third type of cognitive style is the tendency for some individuals to "skeletonize" and others to "embroider" in the recall of cognitive material. The need to simplify the representation and storage of information in cognitive structure is probably universal. But some studies support the notion that simplification strategies have both inter-individual and intra-individual variations. In the recall of narrative material, for example, skeletonizing involves "pruning" out some particulars by retaining a substantive core of general facts which subsume the details; embroidering, on the other hand, involves "importing," or adding some material in order to retain original details which otherwise might be forgotten. Embroidery is a natural offshoot of the human intellectual tendency toward "closure"; sometimes one will perceive something that is not present in the data simply because he extrapolates beyond the overt stimuli. Carmichael, Hogan and Walter showed how embroidery can be verbally stimulated; recall of a simple visual line design varied depending upon the verbal stimulus attached to the visual stimulus. Evidence of skeletonization and embroidery is also found in production styles. We have all experienced "yarn spinners" who can conjure up countless exaggerated additions in telling or retelling a story; it is also common to find people who provide only the bare facts of an event. Such preferences could play an important role in assessing comprehension as well as production in second language learning. Writing skill might be a particularly fruitful area in which to try to discover how the tendency to embroider or skeletonize relates to style, efficiency, and teachability of writing. Some tests of oral production require a testee to retell a previously read story; the interpretation of the results of such tests could be biased toward embroiderers by sheer quantity of output. While either style can be quite efficient, one tends to judge embroidery as more desirable in some situations and skeletonizing as more appropriate for others. A more careful study of this feature of cognitive style might help to indicate how such preferences may influence actual langauge acquisition or our judgment of language proficiency.

A fourth category in cognitive style is belief congruence and contradiction. Individual differences exist with respect to the basic need each person feels for internal consistency within his belief system. Some individuals are undoubtedly more content than others to entertain and even internalize contradictory propositions, usually by a process of compartmentalization. Others tend to reject any item which is contradictory or slightly incongruent with their existing system. The notions of "open and closed" mindedness and "dogmatism" are related to the concept of belief congruence. Those who are more dogmatic are inclined to accept only certain highly consistent facts (the closed mind) and usually possess an intolerance for ambiguity as well as a tendency toward premature closure. Second language teachers and researchers need to discover how such differences may affect language learning. More specifically, can methods and materials in second language teaching somehow not be too new and different for the closed-minded individual and still be challenging enough for the open-minded? In order to reach those who are intolerant of ambiguity, either by "nature" or by "nurture," the teacher and materials-developer have the responsibility of offering as clear an explanation of language as possible with a minimum of conflicting evidence. Continued ambivalent responses from the teacher to such a student could severely impair his progress in learning the second language.

Conclusions and implications

A number of categories have been presented here which suggest areas of research and inquiry for the years ahead. If we are to gain a better understanding of language acquisition processes, some, if not all, of the areas discussed here will need to be explored thoroughly. It will be an enormous task. First of all, we are dealing with an extremely complex process within a complex organism; countless variables are interacting and it will be difficult enough to identify even the most salient factors. Second, as more and more variables are found to be influencing the process of second language acquisition, it will become increasingly difficult to type individuals and to classify groups of individuals together. Each person appears to be a unique complex of variables. Third, individuals tend to be somewhat inconsistent within themselves from day to day, or even moment to moment. In a given situation a person may be impulsive, inhibited, and closed-minded, while a change in time or environment may produce a complete reversal. Clearly there are enduring consistencies within individuals, but it is difficult to discover these accurately without systematic observation of a person in a variety of circumstances. Fourth, a source of difficulty in research in second language *teaching* is found in the teacher-student interaction. In studying "natural" second language acquisition one does not have the imposed, man-made variables such as teachers, textbooks, and other factors that one finds in the educational setting. One always has to consider, for example, how the imposed personality and cognitive style of a teacher will affect a student with his own set of cognitive and affective preferences.

Despite the enormousness of the task, there is good reason to press for solutions to the mysteries of second language acquisition. We have spent many decades hopping from one bandwagon to another, placing almost blind faith in a single method or discipline at one point, then turning to another method, and yet another, always rejecting the previous theory when it broke down or faltered. Now, for perhaps the first time since Gouin wrote his famous *L'art d'enseigner et d'etudier les langues* (1880), we are attempting to take a genuine interdisciplinary approach to second language research. Neither linguistics nor psychology nor any other discipline *alone* will produce final answers. The next decade should provide us with information about the human person which, when creatively interrelated with our accumulated knowledge in theoretical linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and the psychology of learning, will possibly enable us to construct a viable theory of second language acquisition.

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Disagreement between teachers and psychologists I find easy to cope with, because I usually agree with the teachers. Agreement between them is another matter, and in this paper I have to deal with it. They both agree that favorable attitudes are vital for success in language learning and further that a favorable attitude is one of the major contributors to success in language learning. I am going to throw caution to the winds and argue that both teachers and psychologists are mistaken, that favorable attitudes are of only minor importance.

For years I held the majority view on attitudes. In Ireland, sensible people maintained that children from English-speaking homes (at least 97% of the population) learned little Irish in school because parents did not foster favorable attitudes to Irish. By this they meant that parents failed to communicate to children a sense of the historic and cultural value of the language and a pride in its role as a symbol of nationhood; they may also have meant that some parents went so far as to speak disparagingly of Irish. People who were even more sensible attributed the weakness of Irish in the schools to the fact that in Ireland adults manage very well without knowing Irish, and children somehow notice this. My colleague, Professor Wallace Lambert (1967), makes a distinction, which almost captures the two Irish views, between what he calls an 'integrative' and an 'instrumental' attitude to language learning, an integrative attitude being a desire to know and become friendly with speakers of a language, an instrumental one being a desire to better oneself materially by means of the language. He adduces evidence that an integrative attitude is more likely to lead to success than an instrumental one.

In his book, Foreign language learning, Leon Jakobovits (1970) is somewhat embarrassed by the research findings in the area which either fail to show a correlation between measured attitudes and measured attainments in language courses, or show a low one. In his summing up he seems to lay aside the research and talks instead about what he considers to be the important role of attitudes. He is also exercised by the finding that many students in foreign language classes do not want to be there; apart from considerations of human dignity and liberty, he feels that such overall attitudes augur badly for the success of their work.

My new scepticism comes from several quarters, not least of which is the realization that historically, language shifts have generally been accompanied by unfavorable attitudes to the conquering people and their language. There has always been some antipathy of Irish people to England and English; yet English replaced Irish. The highland Scots behaved just like the Irish, and while the Welsh proved tougher than either, they too seem to be in the process of changing to English. They are, of course, following in ancient footsteps, because centuries ago the celtic languages of Europe succumbed to Latin. Despite determined efforts to prevent it, the people of Provence have accepted French in place of Provencal, and the Catalonians have learned Castillian in addition to Catalan. But there is no need to multiply examples (as long as we recognize the possibilities for multiplication!).

No doubt the thought has occurred to many readers that the historical argument is somewhat specious as it stands, since a people like the Irish might well combine an unfavorable integrative attitude to the English with a positive instrumental one. Undoubtedly they did, and even though an instrumental attitude is the less effective of the two according to Professor Lambert, one could still account for the language switch in terms of attitude. But to leave it at that is, I think, to miss the dynamics of language learning.

A child suddenly transported from Toronto to Berlin will rapidly learn German no matter what he thinks of the Germans. Indeed when he makes his first appearance on the street and meets German children he is likely to be appalled by the experience. They will not understand a word he says; they will not make sense when they speak; and they are likely to punish him severely by keeping him incommunicado. I have argued elsewhere (Macnamara 1971a, 1972) that he will learn German because he must understand what is being said to him precisely when it is said, and he must communicate precisely when the need arises. I do not believe that he learns German because of an appreciation that German will prove useful at some future date, but rather because it is useful now. This is not what Professor Lambert or Professor Jakobovits had in mind when they spoke of attitudes or motivation, this is not what people generally have in mind when they speak of language learning in the classrooms. I suspect that the historical facts can be explained along similar lines: the Irish, for example, learned English in situations where they had to use it. Curiously, the Irish learned English for the most part at a time when schooling was outlawed for Catholics, who were the overwhelming majority of the population (see Macnamara 1971).

I would be obtuse to attribute linguistic attitudes to babies who are learning their mother tongue. They need to understand what is said to them and to express their wants and feelings; they even like to talk for the sake of talking and to engage in language games; but they hardly see far enough ahead or deeply enough into history to form what educationalists and psychologists call attitudes to language. Yet of all language learners they are the model. If babies manage without such attitudes, the likelihood is that adolescents and adults do too, at least to the extent to which they are successful. The only part that I see for long term attitudes in older people is that they might influence their approach to opportunities for using the second language.

I want to carry this analysis further and apply it to the school; but before I do, I want to clear up one theoretical point. Many people imagine that babies learn languages in a special manner which is different from the way older persons learn them. The magic facility which enables babies to just pick up their mother tongue disappears, they say, and then it is the hard grind of vocabulary and grammar lessons. They miss the obvious point that for an adult to know a language is in all essentials the same as for a baby to know it. Since the product of the learning process is the same, the simplest and most parsimonious hypothesis is that the learning process too is the same. Suits which look identical are probably cut from the same pattern. Moreover language is much too complex to permit of its being taught explicitly. Whatever we think about the psychological reality of transformational grammars, at least the study of them has enlarged our imaginations, and we now realize that the specifications for any language would look more like some massive computer program than a traditional grammar book. There is, then, just as much magic in an adult's learning a language as in a child's doing so.

The theoretical confusions that I have dealt with so far are as nothing compared with those which exist in the classroom. Teacher and children wallow in what must be the nearest thing to total misunderstanding, and it has to do with basic attitudes. The teacher believes that language is to be respected and caressed for its own sake, that one needs to do penance and prepare oneself to capture the fine point of pronunciation and grammar as Sir Galahad prepared himself to seek the Holy Grail. Children are simply stunned by this attitude. They see it as a modest tool, but communication is what it is all about. I believe the children are right and the teachers wrong. I also believe that the only way to make the linguistic magic work is to become vitally engaged in communicating.

I can demonstrate the confusion more strikingly, if I contrast babies learning language with children in classrooms. Babies begin with one-word sentences and manage to communicate very well in them. School children are usually required to speak in full sentences in an unnatural manner: that is not a hen; that is a lawn-mower. The teacher sees a virtue in full sentences; the baby is interested only in communicating.

The baby gets away with one-word sentences because his mother guesses his meaning just as he guesses hers. I have argued elsewhere (Macnamara 1972) that to guess meaning is one of the essential strategies of language learning. In the classroom the only guess that the child makes is that the teacher has nothing to say to him, and he for his part has nothing to tell the teacher. The child's mind is turned off. And since the teacher always knows the answer before he puts a question, there is only an appearance of conversation. It is like a very dull Chekov play: everyone talks, but nobody really listens. Again, the teacher sees talking as a valuable exercise, and the child regards it as nonsense.

A mother accepts all the child's remarks which are both true and mannerly; she does not often correct pronunciation or grammar until the child is about five by which time he is almost a master of his language. The conscientious teacher pounces on all departures from phonological and syntactic perfection; she does not care what the child says as long as he says it correctly. The schoolchild, unused to such treatment in learning his first language, is unnerved and finds himself at a disadvantage. He does not, of course, analyze the situation; he merely becomes bored or concludes that he lacks talent for languages.

Finally, a mother does not have another language in which to talk to the baby if he fails to understand what she says. She has to make do with gestures, facial expressions, and exaggerated tones of voice. Because they are both involved in communicating they usually manage somehow. How different it is in the classroom! Teacher and child usually have another common language, which means that they could communicate much better if they really needed to. Indeed they often do have recourse to the other language. Teachers, unlike mothers, do not exploit gestures, intonation, facial expressions, and events in the environment to provide the child with clues which will guide him to the meaning. The result is that classroom conversations seem remote, unreal, and often lifeless compared with the conversations of a mother and child. Basically it is the same disease that we have encountered before: the teacher sees language mainly as something to be learned; the child sees it mainly as a means of communication. He is seldom interested in language, but rather in the information which it conveys.

Babies do not differ much in ability to learn a language. Leave aside the deaf ones and those who are severely handicapped mentally and the rest seem to learn with little difficulty. One may be a little more talkative than another; one may progress a little quicker than another and learn a larger vocabulary. But we must look closely if we are to notice the differences. In the essentials there is little individual variation. In foreign language classrooms the variation is enormous, and this I take as a sign of failure to engage the children's faculte de language. I am not surprised to find enormous differences among people skiing, but I would be if I were to find them among people walking. Walking is 'natural' whereas skiing is somehow 'artificial'. It would seem that homes, and streets, produce 'natural' language whereas schools produce 'artificial' language, and that the variation among students is an indication of the artificiality. Our task is to make the school more like the home and the street. If my analysis is correct, this means among other things that we must stop talking about attitudes and talk much more about communicating. My belief is that when we really learn this lesson, individual differences in linguistic attainment will cease to be noticeable. I also forecast a lean time for those whose business it is to predict such differences.

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It is slowly being recognized that success in second language learning (SLL), particularly in the environment where the target language (TL) is spoken, depends to a large extent on a variety of social-psychological variables. In the past these variables have been examined in cross-sectional studies, often using factor-analytic techniques, in which language learning by large groups has been studied. In these studies only a limited number of variables have been examined -- those which can be measured and those for which measurement instruments exist. Therefore, what is said about SLL of a particular group is only true of a group of individuals. Within that group each individual has his own social-psychological profile of learning. What has been lacking in SLL research have been in-depth longitudinal case studies examining the social-psychological profile in SLL of an individual. This project is an attempt to provide such research. It addresses itself to the study of individual language learning experiences to see how various social-psychological factors affect an individual's perception of his own progress.

If one takes a global view of epistemology, one can see that traditional psychologies of the East (such as zen, yoga and sufism) examine a phenomenon by having individuals experience that phenomenon. One learns things by going through an experience and by observing oneself during that experience. In Western psychology, particularly in experimental psychology, the experimenter rarely observes himself. He observes others undergoing a particular process and uses various kinds of data-gathering procedures during this period of observation. Breaking away from the methods of experimental psychology, the authors have focussed on self-observation as a research tool and a source of scientific data.

The opportunity for a self-observational study of SLL presented itself when the authors spent two months during the summer of 1976 in Tunisia and another two months during January and February of 1977 in Iran. Also included in the study is their participation in an intermediate Persian class at UCLA during the fall of 1976. In Tunisia they were learning Arabic at the beginning level. John studied Tunisian Arabic in a class which met one hour a day, and Francine studied Modern Standard Arabic in a class which met four hours a day. The instructional program lasted six weeks. In Iran they pursued the study of Persian at the intermediate level, working on their own without formal instruction. Both of them had previously spent three years in Iran in the Peace Corps.

In order to document what actually was involved in their attempts at learning these second languages, they decided to experiment with the use of diaries as research instruments. The plan was to keep detailed journals of all cross-cultural and linguistic events which each of them perceived as relevant to their SLL. To prepare themselves for this task they attended a journal workshop at UCLA during May of 1976. The format for this workshop was developed by Ira Progoff (1975) and is designed to train the participant to examine his life experience from approximately twenty different perspectives and then to integrate them into a unified whole. The workshop was useful in that it provided the authors with a sense for the various ways a journal can be used to document and understand an experience. However, in the actual research they did not attempt to rigorously follow the Progoff format. Instead, they found it more suitable to record daily events and the thoughts and feelings related to them in a log-like fashion, paying particular attention to cross-cultural adjustments and efforts made and avoided in learning the TL both in and out of class. Because the diaries must be as candid as possible and entries are uncensored, they are essentially private documents. Therefore, for the study this raw data was rewritten by each subject keeping all relevant detail but eliminating highly personal entries. Thus, the data for the project is reported in the following form:

1) The story of Francine's language learning experience in Tunisia, at UCLA, and in Iran, and
2) The story of John's language learning experience in these three places.

Each of these stories is preceded by an account of the history of the authors' involvement with second languages. It was felt the value in writing these historical accounts would be in providing a more total picture of the authors as learners by showing what languages they had studied or come in contact with during their childhood, adolesence and young adulthood.

A phenomenological analysis of the data was used to determine what social and psychological variables enhance or inhibit SLL. In conducting this phenomenological analysis, the first question asked of the data was what it revealed about the social-psychology of SLL that was not known before. This approach was not very productive. There was nothing substantial in the data that was totally new. The question was then reformulated to ask, what the data told the subjects as individuals about their language learning. Each of them then went through their own data and tried to identify the important variables in their language learning. It was felt this approach was very productive because it revealed idiosyncratic patterns of behavior that seriously affected their language learning and that had not been specifically identified as important in previous studies of the social-psychology of SLL.

In research such as this which is both clinical and phenomenological, results cannot be displayed in a series of figures and tables. Nevertheless, the authors have attempted to sketch out some of the things they have learned about themselves. However, due to constraints of space only a few of the authors' observations can be presented here. A detailed report of this research including both the data and analysis will be available in F. M. Schumann (forthcoming). Below Francine describes three of her behavior patterns followed by John's description of three of his.

Obsession with Nesting

In both the Tunisian and Iran journals, it is clear that in order for me to be able to devote the time, energy or emotional involvement required in language learning, I must first feel content in the place I am living. My surroundings must be orderly, comfortable and have my imprint on them identifying them as my home away from home. I devote days to putting my nest in order leaving very little energy or even thought for anything else. If I am frustrated in my attempt to build a suitable nest, it will have a negative effect on my pursuing any creative endeavor such as language learning.

In Tunisia, I was totally unable to fulfill this nesting instinct. We lived in a 300 year old building in the medina (the Arab part of town near the souk). I was never able to adjust to the lack of hot water, comfortable furniture and a suitable place to put away my belongings. I was also frustrated by the constant layers of dirt blowing in and having to put up with a strange type of bug in the house that attacked us all summer causing us to look like smallpox victims throughout our stay. The result was that I felt alienated from and hostile towards my environment, and these emotions usurped my energies such that I rarely could direct any to studying Arabic the entire time we lived there.

Again this nesting instinct was an issue with me upon our arrival in Iran. Fortunately, the accommodations there lent themselves to my fulfilling this instinct and doing so within a reasonable period of time. Because we lived in a hotel, I was free of cleaning responsiblities and the room was put in order for me daily. The furniture both accommodated our belongings and was comfortable and even provided a very suitable work area. Thus, it was only a matter of unpacking and deciding on convenient places to put things away. Within a week of our arrival I was content that things were to my satisfaction. I was then able to begin to direct my energy to the task of studying Persian.

Withdrawal from Learning due to Nonacceptance of the Teaching Method

A rigid adherence to the audio-lingual method was followed in my Arabic class. The TL was used exclusively as the medium of instruction. Weekly lessons included full page dialogues followed by approximately 6-8 pages of drills. No translations, grammatical explanations or vocabulary lists were given during the lessons nor did the text provide one with these supports. In class students were forbidden to write anything down to aid them in remembering, to copy words or sentences off the chalkboard, to look up things in the text or to consult with fellow learners for clarification. The rule was listen, repeat and respond over and over for four hours. The sole source of the language was the teacher. I hated the method. My anger bred frustration, a frustration which I acutely felt as my goal was to be a star performer in class, and I found it impossible to be so under these circumstances.

Instead of resorting to a solution which would allow me to cope with this learning environment and learn in spite of the method, my reaction was to reject it and withdraw from learning. This withdrawal was gradual and displayed itself in a variety of ways. Some days I would assume such a low profile in class, making no attempts to participate, that only my physical presence allowed that I was indeed a member of the group. Other days this withdrawal took the form of my cutting-up during the lesson. Eventually the withdrawal led to my leaving class early, walking out on exams and not showing up at all.

Motivation for Choice of Language Materials

The subject matter and packaging of language materials have a strong effect on whether I will make use of them as learning resources. I had decided that in order to advance in the acquisition of Persian it was necessary for me to learn to read the language. A wide selection of reading materials for students of Persian does not exist, especially if one is working on a program based on self-instruction. The materials that were available to us for this task were the elementary and intermediate Modern Persian Readers published by the University of Michigan. These materials contained reading selections mainly from newspapers. In the elementary book, the text is presented in Persian script on one page and in phonemic transcription on the facing page. Each selection is accompanied by an extensive vocabulary list. The book is really quite suitable for self-study by someone who has a basic knowledge of spoken Persian. However, I found I could not study from these books because 1) I found the subject matter boring (for example, the arrival of the West German minister of agriculture at the Tehran airport, what government officials met his plane and what was said to welcome him), and 2) because the book itself was unattractive.

In Tehran they sold books for children in Persian that had fantastic art work. It was this art work which greatly attracted me, and I decided I wanted to learn to read using these children's books. John said I shouldn't waste money on them as they contained no vocabulary lists or transcriptions (which he liked in the Michigan readers) and therefore, all my time would be spent looking up works in the dictionary and mispronouncing a good part of what I read. Finally, at the end of the first month of our stay John agreed to try some.

To my delight we had enormous success with them. The stories were so entertaining that they led to a much greater effort learning to read than did the Michigan readers. In fact, studying now became that part of the day that we looked forward to as a special treat. The illustrations greatly aided our understanding of much of the action. We underlined words which we were unsure of and later consulted an Iranian friend about their meanings. An added bonus was the insight these stories gave us to Iranian culture (for example, the bond of loyalty and friendship among children, the stories that are revealed in the designs on Persian carpets, and the awe and respect the Iranian child has for the grandfather.) In sum, had I not been so drawn initially by the beautiful art work we might never have experienced the success or pleasure of learning to read that these children's books ultimately provided.

The following are factors that John perceived as affecting his language learning:

Transition Anxiety

The Tunisian and Iran experiences taught me that I am most vulnerable to culture shock during transitions: i.e. entering the foreign country, leaving it and changing residences while in that country. I find that the details of these transitions (making reservations, buying tickets, getting to the airport, going through customs, finding a hotel, moving to and setting-up an apartment) are emotionally draining and anxiety provoking. Once I am there, I am quite content (even in the absence of many creature comforts), but when I begin to anticipate the next transition, the emotional stress starts again.

I found one reasonably effective way to control this stress during travel to the foreign country. Enroute to Tunisia and during the first week or so after arrival, I devoted every free minute to working my way through an elementary

Arabic reader. On the way to Iran I kept myself occupied by working through a low-intermediate Persian reader. I believe these were productive solutions because they allowed me to learn more of the language while dealing with the anxiety. Learning more of the language gave me a sense of satisfaction and accomplishment that went a long way toward counter-acting the anxiety. This approach, however, did not work when leaving the foreign country since during departures, I did not feel motivated to study because I wouldn't be needing the language back in the United States.

The Desire to Maintain a Personal Agenda in Language Learning

I discovered that I like to have my own agenda in second language learning. In other words, I like to do it my way. However, I also found that my agenda is often in conflict with the teacher's. Since the teacher's agenda is the standard for the class, then my not following it is failure in the eyes of the other class members. In order not to look like a failure, I have a tendency to compromise my agenda in the direction of the teacher's. For example, in Tunisia, the teacher wanted the students to memorize the dialogues perfectly. I felt that to learn them that well was unnecessary and that it required spending time that could be put to better use in other language learning activities. But, if I did it my way and did not memorize the dialogue as perfectly as possible then I would be frustrated and embarrassed because my poor performance would be judged by the class according to what the teacher wanted the students to accomplish and not what I wanted to accomplish.

My desire to pursue my own agenda was somewhat more successful in the Persian class at UCLA. There the teacher occasionally asked the students to write, but I was only interested in speaking and reading, not writing. In this class I could choose not to do a writing assignment both because I was an auditor and because the teacher was flexible enough to allow it. If on occasion I were forced to write (e.g. during an in-class vocabulary quiz), my failure at this task would not be public, it would simply be between the teacher and myself. Therefore, I would not be embarrassed and could stick to my own language learning agenda.

As a result of my desire to learn a language my own way, I find I like low key teachers who don't demand too much. What I want in a teacher is someone whom I am confident in, who is an able guide and resource person, but who is flexible enough to allow reasonable latitude for me to achieve my own language learning goals.

Eavesdropping vs. Speaking as a Language Learning Strategy

As a general learning strategy, I prefer eavesdropping to speaking as a way of getting into a language. Some people learn language by being very socially out-going and by talking with TL speakers. I prefer to get input by listening to the TL without having to become involved in a conversation. This tendency manifested itself in several ways. In Iran I enjoyed listening to the radio, watching television and participating in events where I could hear people speak without having to speak myself. Thus, at faculty meetings, at certain social gatherings and while observing classes that were conducted in Farsi, I listened as attentively as possible and wrote down words which I did not understand. Later

I would learn the meanings of these words by looking them up in a dictionary or asking a friend. I do not think this strategy excludes having an integrative motivation. In my case, it was a natural outcome of being integratively motivated, but shy. Unfortunately, most language teaching methods do not allow this approach. I was able to employ it in Iran where I was learning on my own, but I could not use it in Tunisia where I was taking classes.

In conclusion, having asked what the diary study taught them about their own language learning, the authors turned once again to the original question: "What has the journal study revealed about SLL that wasn't known before?" They now think the answer is that the journal has revealed that there are numerous PERSONAL variables (a term suggested by Amado Padilla) that affect the acquisition of a second language. These personal variables, to name but a few, are issues such as those described above:

1. nesting patterns
2. reactions to dissatisfaction with teaching methods
3. motivation for choice of materials
4. transition anxiety
5. desire to maintain one's own language learning agenda, and
6. eavesdropping vs. speaking as a language learning strategy

Previous research identified and investigated psychological variables such as attitude, motivation, language shock and culture shock (Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Schumann, 1975); social variables involving dominance patterns and integration strategies (Schumann, 1976); cognitive variables relating to cognitive development (Rosansky, 1975; Krashen, 1975) and cognitive style (Naiman, Frohlich and Stern, 1975); and personality variables such as tolerance for ambiguity, sensitivity to rejection, introversion and extroversion (Naiman, Frohlich and Stern, 1975). What the authors believe this research reveals is that there are PERSONAL variables that interact with all of the above in patterns that are idiosyncratic for each individual.

To further explicate this point of view the authors offer the following analogy. They suggest that language learning be seen as analogous to the operations of a pinball machine. The machine is the total language learning situation. The knobs represent the social, psychological, cognitive, and personality variables mentioned above. In addition, there are knobs that represent age, aptitude and instructional variables. The balls represent the learners and embody the sorts of personal variables that have been described in this paper. As each ball travels through the machine, it hits certain knobs and not others. In addition, it hits certain knobs more than others. The personal variables in each ball determine the path it takes through the machine and the extent to which it is influenced by each knob. No ball will exactly duplicate the path of any other ball, in the same way that no two learners will acquire a second language in precisely the same way.

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Selected Readings for Session Four

Rubin, Joan. "What the 'Good Language Learner' Can Teach Us"

Naiman, N., M. Frohlich, H. H. Stern, and A. Todesco. The Good Language Learner.

Stern, H. H. "What Can We Learn from the Good Language Learner?"

Rubin, Joan. "What the 'Good Language Learner' Can Teach Us." In TESOL Quarterly. 9, 1 (March 1975): 41-51.

It is common knowledge that everyone learns his first language with a fair degree of success, the reason being that everyone is born with ability to learn a language and then grows up in a community in which he needs to function to some degree through language, the rules of which are imparted to him in the normal course of the day. Yet, it is equally common knowledge that some people are more successful (however this is defined) than others at learning a second language. This differential success is often explained by saying that "X has more language learning ability and Y." Yet there is something curious here: if all people can learn their first language easily and well (although some have more verbal skills than others), why does this innate ability seem to decline for some when second language learning is the task? Although one of the more essential skills which many people try to acquire through formal education is competence in a second or foreign langauge, the success record for attempts to help students acquire this skills has been notoriously poor.

More positively, we can observe that this ability does not decline for all students studying a second language. We all know of students who learn a second language in spite of the teacher, the textbook, or the classroom situation. How do these individuals achieve their success? I would like to suggest that if we knew more about what the "successful learners" did, we might be able to teach these strategies to poorer learners to enhance their success record.

Good language learning is said to depend on at least three variables: aptitude, motivation and opportunity. Of the three, the first -- aptitude -- is assumed to be the least subject to manipulation; how subject to change it is, is a question frequently discussed in the literature. Some authors feel that language aptitude is "a relatively invariant characteristic of the individual, not subject to easy modification by learning" (Carroll 1960:38). Others (Politzer and Weiss 1969; Yeni-Komshian 1967; and Hatfield 1965) have demonstrated that language aptitude can be improved somewhat through training; still others have pointed to the intricate interrelationship between aptitude and motivation.

There are two major tests of language aptitude currently in wide use: one by Carroll and Sapon and one by Pimsleur. That by Carroll-Sapon (Carroll 1965:96) uses mainly linguistic parameters as criteria to predict language learning success: (1) phonetic coding, (2) grammatical sensitivity -- the ability to handle grammar, (3) rote memorization ability, and (4) inductive language learning ability -- the ability to infer linguistic forms, rules and patterns from new linguistic contexts with a minimum of supervision and guidance. The test by Pimsleur (1966) adds a motivational dimension and identifies three components: (1) verbal intelligence -- familiarity with words and the ability to reason analytically about verbal materials, (2) motivation to learn the language, and (3) auditory ability. These tests are to be used with those who have not had prior experience with a foreign language.

While these tests are helpful in predicting success, they give the language teacher and learner little direction as to what can be done about a person's ability. Commonly, the poorer student may notice that the better student always has the right answer but he never discovers why, never finds out what little "tricks" lead the better student to the right answer. For the student who wants to improve his learning, aptitude tests don't give enough detailed information about the kinds of habits a learner will need to develop. Rather than letting him just admire the good student and feel inferior, we need to isolate what the good learner does -- what his strategies are -- and impart his knowledge to less successful learners.

By strategies, I mean the techniques or devices which a learner may use to acquire knowledge. Some of the strategies which seem to be important are the following: (1) The good language learner may be a good guesser, that is, he gathers and stores information in an efficient manner so it can be easily retrieved. He may listen to a phrase, pick out the words he understands and infer the rest. He may actively look for clues to meaning -- in the topic, setting, or attitudes of the speakers. His guessing strategy may be stratified from the more general to the specific so that he gets the most information from each question or sentence. (2) He is often willing to appear foolish in order to communicate and get his message across. (3) He will try out his knowledge by making up new sentences, thus bringing his newly acquired competence into use. I will give more details on good language learner strategies later in this paper, but it is important to recognize here that tests of aptitude are meant to find the minimal number of dimensions to predict success without detailing all of the many strategies involved. If the focus is to help students improve their abilities, then these strategies should be looked at in much greater detail.

A second variable mentioned frequently in regard to good language learning is that of motivation. Several articles discuss those aspects of motivation which are essential for good language learning. Gardner and Lambert (1959) have isolated two kinds of motivation, by now well-known: instrumental and integrative. They find that the latter correlates more with successful language learning. While it is generally agreed that the best language learning occurs in the country/region where the language is spoken or when the language is the most common one at home, some would go so far as to say that the classroom is no place to learn a language. Macnamara (1971) points out that the essential difference between a classroom and the street as a place to learn a language is motivation. According to Macnamara, the student seldom has anything so urgent to say to the teacher that they will improvise with whatever communicative skills they possess to get their meaning across. However, the good language learner seems to have a high motivation to communicate, no matter where he is. The problem is how to provide the necessary motivation for others within the school framework -- if that is possible. Cooper (1973:313) also emphasizes the need factor in promoting language learning: "If we want to enable the student to use English, then we must put him in situations which demand the use of English." With proper motivation, the learner may become an active investigator of the nature of the language to be learned. Francis (1971) feels that students will learn to do what they themselves exert themselves to do.

A third variable mentioned above was opportunity. This includes all those activities both within and outside the classroom which expose the learner to the language and which afford him an opportunity to practice what he has learned. We have all noted that the good language learner takes and creates opportunities to practice what he has learned while the poorer learner passively does what is assigned him. The good language learner uses the language when he is not required to do so and seeks opportunities to hear the language (attends foreign language movies, joins foreign language clubs, listens to T.V. or the radio, uses the foreign language with other students outside class). What is important here is to discover what advantage students take of the opportunities they either have or create. I agree with Ervin-Tripp (1970) who suggests that there has been too much attention to the input to the learner and too little on what is going on in the learner himself. She suggests that the focus on opportunity alone without considering the use that the learner is making of such an opportunity will not allow an adequate model of language learning. "Any learning model which predicts language learning on the basis of input without regard to the selective processing by the learner will not work, except for trivial problems."

If language learning is really the acquisition of communicative competence as well as of linguistic competence, then we need also to examine how the good language learner defines opportunity as exposure to many different social situations so as to get a proper feel for the circumstances in which a language code is to be employed.

It is clearly difficult to separate these three variables (aptitude, motivation, opportunity) since they do impinge on one another. An individual with lots of natural ability and motivation but with little opportunity may have difficulty in acquiring a language. If opportunity is present, but there is little motivation or poor learning skills, then we may expect that the language learning will proceed slowly. Equally, a person with lots of natural ability and opportunity may fail to learn because of poor motivation.

What is clear is that the good learner has or creates all of these and the poorer learner does not. If we are to improve the success of the classroom teaching, we will need to know a great deal more about the learning process.

The Good Language Learner

While there is little systematic work relating language learning strategies to success, there are a number of observations which can be made about individuals who are good language learners. I have been able to isolate some of these by observing myself and by talking to other good language learners, and by eliciting observations from some second language teachers. As I have begun to observe classes, what fascinates me is how often the teacher plows ahead with the lesson seemingly with little awareness of what is going on in each student, and often without directing the attention of the poorer students to how the successful student arrived at his answer. That is, many foreign language teachers are so concerned with finding the best method or with getting the correct answer that they fail to attend to the learning process. If they attended to it more, they might be able to tailor their input to their students' needs and might be able to provide the student with techniques that would enable him to learn on his own. Indeed, no course could ever teach all we need to know about a language and the teacher must find the means to help the student help himself, when the teacher is not around.

The task of observing these strategies is a complicated one because they necessarily involve cognitive processes which neither the learner nor the teacher may be able to specify. However, when our attention is focused on observing these strategies, I think we may find it easier to isolate some of them. Just recently, I discovered that by using video-tape more of these strategies would be observable than by just using a tape recorder. With the video-tapes we hope to help learners and teachers see what is going on in the classroom. We hope to be able, as well, to abstract the learner strategies by interviewing the learner about his behavior during a particular classroom while showing him a tape of his behavior.

In spite of the fact that we are only beginning to isolate these strategies, I think that it is useful to list some of the ones found thus far. They remain general but give an idea of the kind of strategies I think we ought to be looking for.

Strategies

1. The good language learner is a willing and accurate guesser. It seems that the good language learner is both comfortable with uncertainty (indeed he may enjoy it) and willing to try out his guesses. A good guesser is one who gathers and stores information in an efficient manner. The good guesser uses all the clues which the setting offers him and thus is able to narrow down what the meaning and intent of the communication might be. In this sense, he is carrying over into his second language behavior something that all of us do in our first language interactions. We never comprehend all that the speaker intended and we are always using whatever clues the environment, and the discourse may give us. Guessing is based on what we know about the social relationship between the speakers, the setting, the event, the mood, the channel and all of the other parameters that Hymes has isolated for us in the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1972). It is based on what we know about the rules of speaking (Cf. Paulston, 1974, for some examples of the importance of knowing these). It is based on factual probability (Twaddell, 1973). It is also but not exclusively based on what we know about grammar and lexicon.

The good guesser uses his feel for grammatical structures, clues from the lexical items he recognizes, clues from redundancy in the message. He uses nonverbal clues, word-association clues, outside knowledge (his general knowledge of society, of similarities to his native language). He makes inferences as to the purpose, intent, point of view of a message or communication.

The ability to guess seems to relate to one's first language as much as to one's second. Mueller (1971:153) calls our attention to the fact that people may vary in their ability to comprehend what they hear or read in their native language. The fast reader and the good listener can understand while paying attention to a minimum of cues. He can overlook unknown words, or can read though focussing only on content words. Such a person guesses, or makes inferences about the meaning of words or sentence structure. A wrong guess does not disturb him, but is quickly corrected from the subsequent context. Carton, who directed an important initial study on the role of inferencing in language learning, concurs: "Individual learners vary according to their propensity of making inferences, tolerance of risk and ability to make valid, rational and reasonable inferences." (1966: 18). Carton also suggests that there are three steps to guessing: (1) scanning, confirmation, and testing for adequacy, (2) assessment of probability that the inference is correct, and (3) re-adjustment to later information.

The ability to guess changes as one gets older; adults seem to stratify their guessing from the more general to the specific, gathering the most information from each question. In two separate articles, Jerome Bruner and N. H. Mackworth (1970) and F. A. Mosher and K. R. Hornsby (1966) have shown that adults use different strategies in guessing than do children and that they are more efficient guessers.

The importance of guessing and inferring has been recognized for a long time in second language learning (see for example, Twaddell 1967 and 1973) yet the details of how this is to be taught are not at all clearly worked out. Twaddell does make some fine suggestions about guessing in his more recent 1973 article. Some texts assume that guessing will take place, yet none train students directly to do so.

2. The good language learner has a strong drive to communicate, or to learn from a communication. He is willing to do many things to get his message across. He may use a circumlocution, saying "the object on top of your head" when he doesn't know the word for hat. He may paraphrase in order to explain the different meaning of a phrase (for example, one student explained that the term "snack bar" had a different meaning in Japan than it does in the United States). He will use gestures to get his message across or spell a word when his pronunciation is not clear. He will use a cognate, from any language he knows, to try to express his meaning. He may not limit himself to a particular sentence construction but will use those constructions he does have to the fullest. For example, he may use "going to go" if he doesn't know the future in English, the important point being to get the message across (Richards, 1971, discusses similar strategies). He may try to form new words by nominalizing a verb or verbalizing a noun and then checking the response. Having this strong motivation to communicate, the good learner will use whatever knowledge he has to get his message across. This strategy has an important by-product in that if he is successful in communicating, his motivation to participate and acquire the necessary tools to do so will be enhanced.

3. The good language learner is often not inhibited. He is willing to appear foolish if reasonable communication results. He is willing to make mistakes in order to learn and to communicate. He is willing to live with a certain amount of vagueness.

4. In addition to focusing on communication, the good language learner is prepared to attend to form. The good language learner is constantly looking for patterns in the language. He attends to the form in a particular way, constantly analyzing, categorizing, synthesizing. He is constantly trying to find schemes for classifying information. He is trying to distinguish relevant from irrelevant clues. He is looking for the interaction or relation of elements (using as a basis for this analysis information from his own language or others that he has learned). Naturally, the more experience a learner has with doing this sort of exercise the more successful he will be. It has often been observed that a person learns his second or third foreign language more easily than his first just because he has had the practice in attending to the important formal features of a language.

5. The good language learner practices. He may practice pronouncing words or making up sentences. He will seek out opportunities to use the language by

looking for native speakers, going to the movies or to cultural events. He initiates conversations with the teacher or his fellow students in the target language. He is willing to repeat. He will usually take advantage of every opportunity to speak in class; indeed, in any one class certain students seem to stand out and are called on more frequently.

6. The good language learner monitors his own and the speech of others. That is, he is constantly attending to how well his speech is being received and whether his performance meets the standards he has learned. Part of his monitoring is a function of his active participation in the learning process. He is always processing information whether or not he is called on to perform. He can learn from his own mistakes.

7. The good language learner attends to meaning. He knows that in order to understand the message, it is not sufficient to pay attention to the grammar of the language or to the surface form of speech. He attends to the context of the speech act, he attends to the relationship of the participants, he attends to the rules of speaking, he attends to the mood of the speech act. In learning one's first language, some scholars have suggested that meaning comprehension is prior to structure acquisition. Macnamara (1972) argues that an infant doesn't start to learn his first language until he can understand what is said without hearing the utterance. In the case of the second language learner, the learner already has a known structure and a lexicon which can be used to sort out some of the message. Thus, context is less prominent, although still very important for the second language learner.

He sees language as serving many functions, and he looks for ways to convey these functions. He knows that in any social interaction, there is room for the interpretation of the speaker's intention. He knows that many cues to the message are to be found in observing the nature of the interaction. There are a whole host of social dimensions which the good language learner uses to help in his understanding of the message and to enable him to frame an appropriate response.

The good language learner may try to isolate those features which give him maximum intelligibility. He may develop a feeling for those phonological cues which best enhance intelligibility. In English, this might mean that he emphasizes accurate production of intonation patterns over that of individual sounds because of the intimate relationship of these patterns with syntax. In English, some mispronunciation of individual sounds will be tolerated if intonation patterns are accurate.

There are lots of other things which the good language learner does which need exploring. Some other hints are in the literature for memorization techniques. Carroll (1966: 104) suggests that "The more meaningful the material to be learned, the greater the facility in learning and retention." It might be expected that the good language learner finds ways to make the things he must memorize more meaningful. Carroll (1966: 104) also suggests that: "The more numerous kinds of association that are made to an item, the better are learning and retention." Again we need to observe what the good language learner does to enhance associations.

Further Research

The above list offers some good insights into the cognitive processes that seem to be going on in good language learners. A recent article by Stern (1974) lists some additional learner strategies which enhance our insights into the process. However, this is just a start and more systematic and deeper observation will need to be carried out. To do so a number of factors need to be taken into account first since it is clear that considerable variation between learners may be expected.

The learner strategies (of even successful learners) will vary with: (1) The task -- some material may require rote memorization while other material may require oral drill. (2) The learning stage -- language learners may in fact use different strategies at different points in time in the learning process. (3) The age of the learner -- it is probably true that adults do better guessing (having at their disposal multiple hierarchies of redundant cues) while the child has not yet developed such hierarchies. Children on the other hand may be freer in adapting to new situations and to acting out a communication. (4) The context -- if second language learning takes place in the classroom with little or no opportunity for practice, the type of strategies used may well be more limited and distinct from those used where the learner has an opportunity to and perhaps has an obligation to use his language for real communication purposes. (5) Individual styles -- some people are not comfortable unless they have something written in front of them or unless they have the grammatical points under consideration in front of them. Some people learn better by visual means while others learn better by auditory means. We should expect that there would be many different kinds of "good language learners." (6) Cultural differences in cognitive learning styles -- in some societies, listening until the entire code is absorbed and one can speak perfectly is a reported form of learning; in other successive approximation to native speech is used as a learning strategy; while in still others rote learning is the most common learning strategy. Good learners may have considerable insight to contribute to their learning difficulties and to their preferences for instructional methods.

By looking at what is going on inside the good language learner, by considering how he is successful, what strategies, what cognitive processes he uses to learn a language, we may be led to well-developed theories of the processing of linguistic information which can be taught to others. Perhaps we can then establish procedures to train others to use these or similar procedures to acquire a second language.

In the meantime, teachers can begin to look at what the good student does to acquire his skill. They can stop, in so doing, inhibiting the use of communicative strategies in the classroom, that is, use of all sorts of clues to guess at meaning. Rather they should encourage students to transfer what they know about the world and about communication to second language learning. I agree completely with Twaddell (1973) who says that "The learner must be allowed, must be encouraged, to accept temporary vagueness in the early stages of familiarity with a given word." Indeed, I would say that the early learner should be encouraged to accept temporary vagueness in many other areas of language learning. In this sense, he will be replicating the more natural communication process where the participants in communication do not always hear, understand or properly interpret what is being said to them; still they do not panic but continue the conversation and see if the item becomes clarified in the course of the dialogue.

The teacher should help students understand how topic, context, mood, human relationships help him narrow down the possible meaning of a sentence, or a word. He should help the student guess what the linguistic function of a particular item might be. In this sense, the teacher would be helping the student learn how to learn a language.

When we have researched this problem more thoroughly we will be able to incorporate learning strategies into our methodology, we will be able to help the learner select the appropriate method for his own learning style and we will be able to adapt the strategy to the particular cultural learning style. The inclusion of knowledge about the good language learner in our classroom instructional strategies will lessen the difference between the good learner and the poorer one.

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What makes good language learners tick? What do they do that poor learners don't do? Could we help the poor learners by teaching them some of the good learners' tricks? To forestall disappointment, let it be said at the beginning that this study does not provide definite answers to these very legitimate questions. Nevertheless, we believe it has been worth undertaking. The nature of second language learning is extremely complex and a great deal of research is needed to improve our understanding of it. In spite of much theorizing, very little has been done to study its processes directly and empirically. This study constitutes a beginning.

We set out to discover the strategies of good language learners; they proved hard to identify. But along the way we discovered other things which may help us to understand second language learning processes better. We therefore hope our study will be useful as a basis of further investigation. We also hope our observations will be useful not only to researchers, but also to teachers and to those who make language teaching policy.

A study of this kind is not undertaken with language teaching policy and practice specifically in mind; it focusses on the learner, not the teacher; but we realize that its final justification is its influence on the quality of second language teaching and learning. We urge the reader not to expect immediately applicable results. Language pedagogy needs resolution of some of the more basic issues. This study is a first approach to one such issue, the nature of second language learning.

Good language teachers have, of course, an intuitive understanding of language learning. What is lacking is a systematic understanding. We hope, therefore, that experienced practitioners and students teachers alike will find these explorations thought-provoking and helpful.

MAJOR FINDINGS

Major Findings of the Adult Interview

1. The interview study generally confirmed the kinds of strategies which the Rubin-Stern inventories had suggested, but it was found necessary to reduce and order the Stern list of ten strategies to a more systematic arrangement of five. The study was also able to identify a large number of techniques that good language learners employ. (See Appendix)

2. While this study indicated certain attributes common among good language learners, especially with regard to strategies and techniques they had employed or would employ, it also illustrated the complexity and individuality of each learning situation and career.

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3. Looking at different case studies suggested that perceived (but not measured) aptitude was less of a crucial factor than attitude to language learning, persistence, and willingness to adapt to varied learning situations over prolonged periods of time.

4. From the point of view of research methodology, reporting in retrospect combined with predicting on the basis of a hypothetical language learning situation, such as was demanded by the interview procedure, was productive to a certain extent. But it left the investigators conscious of the fact that many aspects of the learning process were probably missed by this particular approach.

Major Findings of the Classroom Study

One general conclusion arising out of the adult interview study was that in view of the exploratory nature of the entire project, it would be unwise to attempt to focus exclusively on learning strategies and techniques. This study, as well as other language learning research, has confirmed the conviction that strategies and techniques form only a part of language learning. It is therefore important to relate them to personality and motivational factors in the learner, and to other less obvious aspects of the learning process.

Consequently, the main classroom study was conceived in more comprehensive terms. It was designed to explore various learner and learning factors, the learning environment (i.e., the teacher and teaching), the strategies and techniques consciously employed by the learner, and the learning outcome, through a variety of means, such as observation, personality and cognitive style tests, French achievement tests, teacher interviews, and students interviews.

The findings of the main study can be divided into those related to learning and those related to teaching.

......Findings Related to Learning......

1. Strict observation in language learning classrooms does not reveal language learning strategies or specific techniques other than fairly obvious indicators; for example, participation or nonparticipation in classroom activities. In other words, on the basis of mere classroom observation neither teachers nor trained observers can be expected to identify whether or not these students are successfully learning, and whether or not they are employing useful learning techniques.

2. On the other hand, the interviews with the students about their language learning experiences made it possible to identify and describe some strategies and techniques and to reveal the students' learning difficulties as well as their preferences and goals in learning French.

3. Certain personality and cognitive style factors are related to success in language learning. The present study identified two such factors as important: tolerance of ambiguity and field independence. In the early stages, factors such as tolerance of ambiguity may be more related to success than at later stages, while factors such as field independence may be crucial at more advanced levels.

4. Students with different cognitive styles, as described above, appear to use different learning and communication processes. Evidence for this can be found

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in differences in the errors produced by field dependent and field independent learners.

5. Attitudes to the language learning situation play an important role in successful language learning, perhaps to a greater degree than either the integrative or instrumental orientations identified in the studies by Gardner and Lambert (1972). It should be noted that Gardner in recent work has also taken into account a wider range of motivational factors.

6. Positive attitudes to language learning appear to be a necessary but not a sufficient condition for success. In fact, attitude as a determining factor of language learning success may be most important at the initial stages.

7. A great deal more about language learning may be discovered by consulting learners directly in a carefully constructed interview than by standardized personality and attitude tests. In an interview, learners, except perhaps very young ones, are able to contribute useful information about (a) their goals in language learning (most students expressed preference for oral competence rather than written competence); (b) classroom activities and learning techniques (interviewees expressed preference for more or fewer oral activities, more or less L1 support); and (c) teacher-student interaction (students had views on interruption of communication by the teacher and on teacher correction).

......Findings Related to Teaching......

1. The teachers emphasized question-and-answer techniques to provide language practice. Discussions on topics related to the country, people, and culture, or to some general topics of interest to the students were infrequent.

2. In order to see whether the classroom environment is different for good and poor students, the research paid particular attention to differences in treatment given by teachers to poor and good students respectively. In general, teacher differential treatment of good and poor students does not occur to any great extent. However, there are indicators that certain tendencies towards differential treatment do exist which sometimes benefit good students to the detriment of poor students, while at other times they benefit poor students at the expense of good students. In addition, it was found that teachers occasionally ignore whole segments of the class.

3. In spite of the large numbers of students with whom they have daily classroom contacts, on the whole teachers are able to identify their good and poor students accurately. They can provide characterizations of these students which refer to (a) behavioral indices, (b) personality and motivational indices, (c) intellectual or linguistic abilities, and (d) environmental factors. But these characterizations commonly consist of broad surface features; they are generally not diagnostic or analytical. They appear to reflect the teacher's preoccupation with curriculum and the progress of the class as a group rather than with the problems of individual students.

4. Many expected forms of teacher elicitations and evaluations coded in the observation schedule occurred only rarely: e.g., asking for or providing clarifications and elaborations, eliciting mutual correction, repeating students' responses and localizing errors in students responses.

SOME PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

What has this study told us of value to the classroom teacher and the teacher trainer? It will be remembered that this investigation was planned as an exploratory inquiry; it did not set out to answer the immediate concerns of classroom practitioners.

Nevertheless, two years of intensive investigation of learners and their learning experiences have led to certain conclusions which should interest the practitioner. Among these, the following are particularly noteworthy: (1) the diagnostic use of the model; (2) possibilities and dangers in identifying learner factors; (3) the applicability of learning strategies and learning techniques; 4) the student's view of teaching; and (5) applications to teacher education.

The Diagnostic Use of the Model

We began the inquiry with a model of the learner with certain characteristics in a given social content (Figure 1). This learner was described as receiving input from teaching and from the L2 environment. The individual's learning processes - his strategies, techniques, and mental processes - were said to lead to a learning outcome, a certain level of proficiency or interlanguage with its characteristic error patterns. What has interested us - as it has other investigators - has been to find relationships (a) between learner characteristics, learning processes, and learning outcomes, and (b) between teaching and learning processes and learning outcomes.

At the end of this study, this model seems to us as appropriate and relevant to the purposes of research as it was at the beginning. In our view it is also a useful tool for teachers or student teachers who want to gain a better understanding of their own students as language learners. The model represents the complexities of the interaction between the various factors involved. It can, therefore, be used as an instrument of analysis in teaching-learning situations.

We have had some evidence in this study that teachers do not normally attempt to look closely into causal relationships that may determine success or failure. In other words, it has been our impression that in spite of daily contact with the same students, teachers frequently do not consider their progress in an analytic or diagnostic manner. There are good reasons for this. The teacher teaches a whole class and focusses more on the whole group than on individual students. But taking note of individual differences does not necessarily involve a complete shift of focus. It is more a matter of being sensitive to the possible range of differences among individual students and to their causal relationships, and knowing the concepts with which to analyze learning. These skills can be exercised in classes of any size. What the teacher may need is the knowledge of what to look for in trying to help the good learner to reach his objective and the problem student to overcome his difficulties. An analytical scheme of the kind developed by recent research on language learning may be found helpful by teachers in assisting them in this process of understanding. In many instances, it may simply confirm what good practitioners intuitively know and practise; however, as was pointed out before, it is one of the objects of research of this kind to make more explicit and systematic the knowledge implicit in the best practice.

Possibilities and Dangers in Identifying Learner Factors

What has this study told us about the language learner? Among learner characteristics we have paid particular attention to personality and cognitive style in relation to L2 learning and found some evidence - in spite of difficulties in assessing it - that such features as tolerance of ambiguity, field independence, and extroversion have some bearing on language learning. From the Adult Interview Study we also found that language background and past learning experience significantly shape an individual's career as a language learner. If we add to that information the available findings on language aptitude and motivation and attitudes we have a whole array of factors to bear in mind in attempting to understand the learner.

Such knowledge should help the teacher see that students cannot be expected to respond alike to teaching. It should also help students analyze their own characteristics and adjust their learning as far as possible to what they know about themselves. One of our interviewees was fully aware that her lack of extroversion stood in the way of making the language contacts she felt were essential for successful second language learning. She tried to force herself to overcome this deficiency.

At the same time it is important not to stereotype these differences and to recognize that we are only beginning to understand such L2 learner characteristics systematically. The study as a whole suggests that the successful or good language learner, with predetermined overall characteristics, does not exist. There are many individual ways of learning a language successfully. The study has shown that some of the existing stereotypes do not apply. For example, some people believe that a good language learner has to be musical or have a high language aptitude or an exceptionally good memory. The Adult Interview Study indicated that these qualities may not be essential.

It should also be pointed out that the analysis of learner factors are certainly not intended for selection purposes.

> "Student A is an introvert."
> "Student B has a low score on the language aptitude test."
> "Student C is field dependent."
> Therefore: "Students A, B, and C will be poor language learners."
> Or: "Students A, B, and C should not participate in language learning."

First of all, our knowledge is not definitive enough to make any such statements or predictions with confidence. But even if it were, using the analyses of learner factors in this way would be grossly unfair. What our present knowledge can do is sensitize teachers and students to differences in predispositions with which different language learners will approach language learning. It could also be used for initial placement of students in learning groups, but not for selection or elimination.

Applying Strategies and Techniques

Although a definitive list of language learning strategies has not emerged, the strategies described in Part I and Part II, chapter 4, section 3 and Appendix 1, appear sufficiently plausible and useful to allow certain generalizations. Regardless of learner differences in our view the following emerge as essential for successful second language learning:

1. The learner must be active in his approach to learning and practice.

2. The learner must come to grips with the language as a system.

3. The learner must use the language in real communication.

4. The learner must monitor his interlanguage.

5. The learner must come to terms with the affective demands of language learning.

Since we cannot claim to have found an exhaustive and non-redundant list of strategies and techniques, the various attempts that have been made to develop such an inventory can in our view be useful to teachers and students. They can form the basis of an awareness of major language learning strategies and specific learning techniques. The interviews with experienced adult learners and with students in elementary and high schools indicate that many (not all) learners are capable of analyzing their learning experiences. The interviews suggested that it would be useful for teachers and students to talk about ways of language learning.

We do not believe that long lectures on strategies and techniques, or even lengthy discussions on the subject, would be particularly profitable. But hints from the teacher or periodical brief exchanges with students about different ways of learning would change classroom language learning from a fairly mechanical routine into a more deliberate cooperative undertaking. Different approaches to learning could be planned and tried out in a more conscious way than has been customary. We therefore recommend a cautious teaching how-to-learn approach.

One finding of the Adult Interview Study which has particularly impressed the research team was the active and directing role which the adult interviewees had taken in making their language learning successful. In contrast, the Main Classroom Study did not reveal a great number of personal strategies among classroom learners. It is commonly agreed that learners should be actively involved. But in classroom language learning the use of carefully prepared course materials and the great number of question-and-answer exercises, exclusively directed by the teacher, somehow disguise the fact that the learner should play a part in making decisions and be allowed to exercise personal choice. Recent efforts at individualization are in the right direction, but generally they do not go far enough. The present study suggests that too close, step-by-step direction of language classes may not always produce the desired effect because the learner has too little chance of developing his own learning strategies.

The Student's View of Teaching

The present study has only given certain suggestions of the complexity of the interplay between teaching and learning in language classes. It has confirmed through student interviews that class teaching provides different learning environments for good and poor students. It has also shown that some students have a preference for highly structured language programs and for being constantly corrected, while others prefer to be left alone, to be allowed to try out the second language when they feel so inclined, and to make mistakes in it. Some want more mother tongue explanations, others fewer. While it would not be possible, under conditions of class teaching, to cater to all these individual variations, it would probably be helpful for students to become aware of their own ways of learning and their particular preferences or difficulties. Recent studies by Hosenfeld (1976) have shed light on the different ways in which learners interpret the learning tasks in the language class. Teachers, for their part, should become more sensitized to individual learning preferences and differences in the way students respond to different teaching techniques.

Applications to Teacher Education

It follows from these observations that the findings of this study have relevance for the education of language teachers. First of all, it seems to us important for future language teachers to engage in a process of self-analysis. As experienced language learners themselves, their own linguistic "autobiography" should provide them with insights into their own characteristics and learning experiences and their implications for teaching. If an outline similar to the interview schedule developed in the Adult Interview Study is applied to a class of future language teachers, it should yield differences in background, personality, aptitude, and attitudes. It should also bring to light varieties of teaching-learning experiences among the student teachers and the gradual development of success as well as failure in second language acquisition. Such self-awareness could be a valuable part of training in guiding the learning of students in language classes.

Complementary to this stock-taking of their own language learning, student teachers could gain insight by working with individual students with learning difficulties and compiling case studies. The various kinds of case studies we have described in the Adult Interview Study and the Main Classroom Study indicate different aspects to consider.

Student teachers who in the course of their training had made a detailed analysis of their own linguistic autobiography and compared it with their fellow students', and who had had some training in case study methods in working with a single student, would approach class teaching with an understanding of the learner and learning which would stand them in good stead.

Selected passages from pages vii, 99-100, and 102-104.

4.3 Strategies and Techniques

A major purpose in analyzing the interviews was the identification of language learning strategies and techniques. As previously mentioned, Stern's list of strategies provided an initial frame of reference (page 2). The list of strategies was modified and extended according to the statements and views expressed by interviewees.

Strategies. The analysis focussed on the most salient features of the interviews. The strategies identified are presented below. The five major strategies describe the overall approach to language learning and appear to be essential to successful language acquisition. The minor strategies subsumed under the major ones are not necessarily applicable to all successful language learners. The two sets of strategies form a composite picture of good language learning, as suggested by the interviewees' reports.

Strategies of Good Language Learners (GLLs)

(The statements or actual quotations following the strategies are selected from the interviews for illustrative purposes.)

STRATEGY 1: ACTIVE TASK APPROACH

GLLs actively involve themselves in the language learning task:

(a) by responding positively to the given learning opportunities or by identifying and seeking preferred learning environments and exploiting them.

> (Subject No. 12 accepted the rigid way of teaching in high school, as this method provided him with the foundations for different languages; the method demanded rote learning and memorizing.)

(Subject No. 23 knows – through her previous language learning experience – that she needs structure and organization, especially at the beginning, and both formal and informal settings to learn a foreign language. Before immersing herself into the target language, she would, for example, take a crash course; in addition to the informal learning situation in the country itself, she would continue with formal instruction.)

(b) by adding related language learning activities to the regular program and/or intensifying their efforts.

(In addition to courses Subject No. 20 read a lot, though he did not look up unknown words; "one must read something – in the foreign language – continually, every day.")

(Subject No. 13 actively pursued the learning of French outside the classroom; he listened to linguaphone records and tapes in the car, read French novels, etc.)

(c) by engaging in a number of practice activities.

(In order to practise correct pronunciation, Subject No. 24 tried to "isolate behaviorally certain sounds"; "she would look at people's mouth" and "then repeat it over and over again.")

(In order to learn vocabulary, Subject No. 5 memorized words and wrote them down as an aid to memory.)

(Other practice techniques are given in the list of techniques presented in the following section. The importance of practice was emphasized by several interviewees. Subject No. 13, for example, considered practice to be the most useful part of the *conscious* effort one can make in learning a language.)

(d) by identifying individual problems connected with their language learning and actively dealing with them.

(As the foreign language was mainly an "oral language" for her, Subject No. 23 found that she had difficulties in reading: "I had to read out loud in order to hear the sound of it, in order to figure out what was said.")

(e) by changing the usual purpose of an activity in order to focus on L2 learning.

(Subject No. 24 went to movies every day – though she knew most of them – because they were dubbed into the foreign language she was learning.)

(Subject No. 28 worked as a truck driver in the foreign country: "I was using the day more as a language course.")

STRATEGY 2: REALIZATION OF LANGUAGE AS A SYSTEM

GLLs develop or exploit an awareness of language as a system. In dealing with language as a system, GLLs

(a) refer back to their native language(s) judiciously (translate into L1) and make effective cross-lingual comparisons at different stages of language learning.

(Subject No. 24 tried to find cognates: "... instead of approaching it – the new language – like a blank wall ... try to find everything you can that is related to what you already know, especially in lexical items.")

(b) analyze the target language and make inferences about it; they guess by using clues.

(Subject No. 35, for example, made inferences about the surface structure of Thai by using rules and generating "all mathematically possible sentences.")

(c) develop learning techniques which make use of the fact that language is a system.

(Subject No. 5, for example, when looking new words up in a dictionary, tried to "associate them in a field.")

STRATEGY 3: REALIZATION OF LANGUAGE AS A MEANS OF COMMUNICATION AND INTERACTION

GLLs develop and exploit an awareness of language as a means of communication (i.e., conveying and receiving messages) and interaction (i.e., behaving in a culturally appropriate manner).

(a) In the earlier stages of language learning GLLs may emphasize fluency over accuracy. They may concentrate on speech flow rather than error-free production.

(Subject No. 31 did not hesitate to speak; if necessary, he simplified and attempted to use circumlocutions.)

(Subject No. 28: "... the main thing is that you overcome the inertia and *use* the word and not if you use it absolutely correctly.")

(b) GLLs seek out situations in which they can communicate with members of the target language and/or increase their communicative skills in the language.

(Subject No. 14 used French (L2) to communicate whenever possible: in class with discussion groups; in the foreign country with native speakers.)

(Subject No. 35 attempted to establish close personal contact with native speakers of the languages he was learning.)

(Subject No. 15 found that writing to pen-pals increased his motivation and urge to communicate.)

(c) GLLs display critical sensitivity to language use, for example, by attempting to find out sociocultural meanings (even before first contact with native speakers).

(Subject No. 28 memorized courtesies and conversational phrases before he went to the foreign country.)

(Subject No. 4 would like to learn more about "verbal behavior" in different social situations.)

STRATEGY 4: MANAGEMENT OF AFFECTIVE DEMANDS

GLLs realize initially or with time that they must cope with the affective demands made upon them by language learning and succeed in doing so.

(Subject No. 4 overcame her inhibition to speak "just by doing it," by getting herself into situations where she had to use L2.)

(Subject No. 15: when learning a language, "You've got to be able to laugh at your own mistakes, you've got to have a sense of humor.")

> (Subject No. 28: "You have to simply sit down and work out a way that you can do it and spend a lot of time at it and expect not to get very far for a while and expect to have lots of setbacks and get boring work a lot of times.")

STRATEGY 5: MONITORING OF L2 PERFORMANCE
GLLs constantly revise their L2 systems. They monitor the language they are acquiring by testing their inferences (guesses); by looking for needed adjustments as they learn new material or by asking native informants when they think corrections are needed.

> (Subject No. 23: "I was on the look-out for clues"; "I generated sentences . . . If they weren't correct people around me told me how to say it.")

> (Subject No. 34 emphasized the importance of being constantly corrected, because "learning your mistakes is fatal.")

Techniques. In addition to the general strategies, the interviews yielded a large number of more specific techniques. A list of all the techniques reported follows. Though most of the techniques had been mentioned during the informal part of the interview, in the directed part the interviewees had been asked explicitly whether they had developed any "language study habits, techniques or gimmicks" useful in acquiring the sound system, the grammar, the vocabulary, and oral/aural, reading, and writing skills in the foreign language concerned (see Questionnaire Part II, Question X).

The following list of techniques enumerates the different items in order of frequency. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of subjects who reported this particular technique or study habit. It became apparent that not every subject had developed special study habits in every area. The greatest number of techniques appeared in the area of vocabulary acquisition. It will further be noticed that some techniques are described in very general terms only.

Language Learning Techniques
I. SOUND ACQUISITION

1. repeating aloud after teacher and/or native speaker (16)
2. repeating after tapes, for example, in a language laboratory (8)
3. reading aloud (6)
4. using phonetic symbols, for example, transcribing spoken texts phonetically (5)
5. listening carefully (4)
6. repeating silently (3)
7. talking aloud, including role-playing (3)
8. acquiring a general knowledge in phonetics, i.e., how one's mouth functions, where one has to put one's tongue, etc., in order to know what a sound *feels* like; or looking at people's mouths, in order "to isolate behaviorally certain sounds", and then imitating them (3)
9. doing special exercises for sounds not existing in the learner's native language (1)
10. practising different sounds, first in isolation and then in the context of words (1)
11. listening carefully to errors, for example in pronunciation and/or intonation, made by speakers of the target language when they themselves speak the learner's native language; from their errors one can infer certain key sounds or structures (1)
12. practising "mock talk," which means imitating the foreign language, for example, sounds or intonation, by using words of one's own native language (1)

II. GRAMMAR

1. following the rules as given in grammar books or text books (12)
2. trying to *use* grammar without thinking about rules all the time (4), for example, using the grammar book only as reference when problems come up during conversations, or waiting for corrections and then integrating them.
3. inferring grammar rules from texts (3)
4. memorizing structures and using them as often as possible (2)
5. guessing (e.g., the endings of words); having hunches and building "abstract patterns in your mind" (2)
6. comparing L1 and L2 (1)
7. learning from paradigms (1)
8. changing the word order of an English sentence into the word order of the foreign language, e.g., "horses the grass will eat" (Japanese) or writing down sentences in English and deleting one word after the other, replacing it by L2 items (1)

III. VOCABULARY

1. making up vocabulary charts in L2/L1 and memorizing them (this was regarded as especially useful for beginners) (14); writing vocabulary down (3) in different situations, e.g., when watching T.V.; making index cards (1); going over vocabulary lists at regular intervals; making new lists of the words one doesn't know yet (1)
2. learning words in context (textual, situational) (8); (at an advanced level one must learn the whole concept of a word, usage, accent, etc.)
3. putting words into different structures and drilling oneself (4)
4. learning words that are associated in a field (4) (same subject area, the same lexical and semantic fields)
5. reading aloud and/or silently (4) (looking up words either after one has finished reading or when one is reading, putting a number over the word one doesn't know, making a list at the top of the page of the words unknown and then reading the paragraph again to check if one remembers the words)
6. using a dictionary when necessary (4) (underlining the words one has looked up so that one can check later if one remembers them)
7. reading a dictionary (3)
8. listening to conversations or the radio (e.g., songs – trying to break the sound stream into words) (3)
9. (a) carrying a notebook around and writing down items, if possible in context (1)

(b) writing down words one hears in phonetic transcriptions (if one doesn't know the spelling) (1)

10. using new words in phrases or in a practical context (1)

11. games (1)

(a) trying to think of words which have the same ending – even with the help of a dictionary (checking later if one remembers them)

(b) giving a French (L2) word and four choices for translations (only one is correct)

(c) "French baseball" (team-pitcher asks batter a word – if he knows the word, batter goes to first base, if he doesn't know it but the catcher does, he is out)

12. repeating words (1)

13. switching on tape-recorder with vocabulary – when one feels relaxed (subconscious learning) (1)

IV. LISTENING COMPREHENSION

1. listening to radio, records, T.V., movies, commercials (21) ("Kill two birds with one stone: listen to something you would be interested in in your native tongue.")

2. listening to *what* people say and *how* they are saying it (exposing oneself to different accents, registers) (12)

3. listening to tapes (e.g., while one is driving or in a language lab) (8)

4. listening to news broadcasts first in L1, then in L2 (2)

5. teacher builds a *model* with cars, street, etc. . . . each student gets a car and has to obey instructions; thus the students are practising their comprehension (1)

V. LEARNING TO TALK

1. basic principle: "don't be afraid of making mistakes"

2. having contact with *native speakers* (23)
(a) who are your *friends* (6)
(b) talk to older people because they are more patient (1)
(c) talk to anybody (e.g., teacher) (5)
(d) talk to variety of native speakers (2); it trains your ear
(e) participate in class (1)

3. soliloquizing aloud (7) or silently (3)

4. asking for corrections and integrating them (4)

5. learning by heart, e.g., dialogues (3)

6. subvocalizing when reading (1)

7. cf. *model* (5.) mentioned under 'Listening Comprehension' (1) – this time the students have to give instructions and the teacher corrects their pronunciation

VI. LEARNING TO WRITE

1. having pen-pals (8)

2. writing anything (exercises in class, business letters, etc.) (7) (keep business letters you receive and copy formulas of greeting, introduction, etc.)

3. spelling games (1)

4. reading a lot of whatever you want to be able to write (1) "It's got to go in before it comes ou[illegible]

VII. LEARNING TO READ

1. reading anything: magazines, newspapers, professional articles, comics (e.g., *Reader's Digest* because it offers a wide variety of texts in the second language) (18)

(a) reading something that interests you (4)

(b) reading something that is familiar (1) – especially at the beginner's level

(c) reading headlines, receipts, labels, menus and translating them into L2 (big letters appeal to one's eye and may facilitate reading) (1)

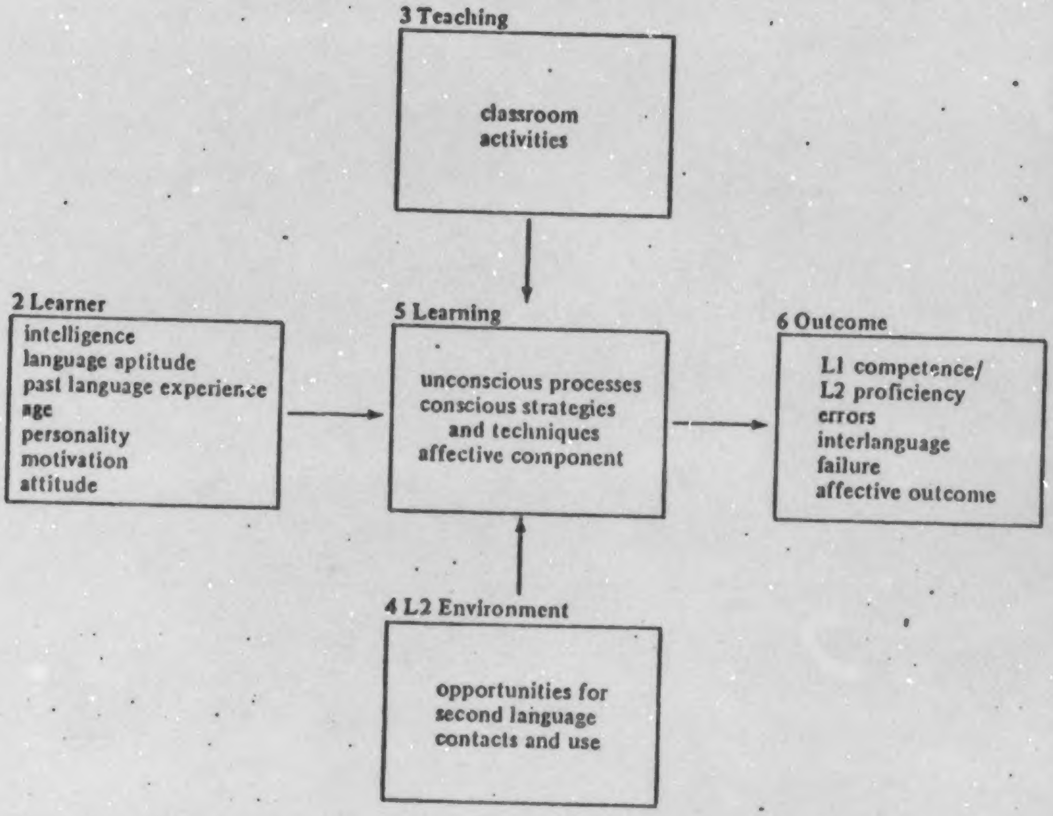
(d) reading bilingual texts at the beginner's level (1)

(e) making it one's principle to read *something every day* (1)

2. trying to figure out meaning from the context without consulting a dictionary (2) (don't interrupt your reading, underline the most important words and look them up later)

3. subvocalizing when reading (1)

4. reading a paragraph in L2, translating words and expressions one doesn't know into L1 (check with dictionary); studying them; reading the paragraph again; silently translating it into L1; then reading out aloud in L1 until one is sure that one knows it in L1; going back and reading it in L2; "It's a real drudgery, but it works."


3 Teaching
classroom activities
2 Learner
intelligence
language aptitude
past language experience
age
personality
motivation
attitude
5 Learning
unconscious processes
conscious strategies and techniques
affective component
6 Outcome
L1 competence/
L2 proficiency
errors
interlanguage
failure
affective outcome
4 L2 Environment
opportunities for second language contacts and use

Stern, H. H. "What Can We Learn from the Good Language Learner?" Canadian Modern Language Review. 31:304-18, 1975.

I. Good and Poor Language Learners

As language teachers, most of us have had the experience that we have in our classes some students who are an absolute joy to teach; they progress quickly; they present no problems; they seem to pick up the new language with amazing ease; they almost always seem to be a jump ahead of us.

But then there are others who are just the opposite. Teaching them is a struggle and an uphill task all along. They seem to have a talent for getting everything wrong. They always misunderstand. Where there is a choice they are bound to make the wrong one. Their memory is like a sieve. However much we regard it as our professional task to be encouraging and optimistic, as realists we cannot help admitting to ourselves that these students are our failures. They are hopeless, we say.

To the question why some students fail or have serious learning problems, while other are outstandingly successful, there is no simple answer. One direction to explore is to try to find out what good language learners do that poor learners do not do. By discovering how good language learners proceed it should be possible to help problem learners to improve their approach and in this way to become more effective.

Accordingly, the Modern Language Center has recently begun a study on the good language learner. In this enquiry we are constrasting the good and the poor language learner and this might lead one to infer that we admire the good learner and despise the poor one. This would be a complete misinterpretation. If we draw the contrast with bold lines it is merely to understand better the poor learner's difficulties -- not to ridicule them.

II. Under the Language Learning Task

We are approaching the study of the good language learner with an open mind. But an open mind does not mean an empty mind. We have a certain conception of what we think are the strategies of good language learning and my main purpose in this article is to explain what we believe they are. What follows therefore is an argument and not yet the result of the study.

The strategies of the good language learner must fit into a theory of language learning. Such a theory can be developed in five progressive stages:

1. What it means to know a language;
2. What it means to know more than one language;
3. What is involved in first-language learning;
4. What is involved in second-language learning; and, finally,
5. What is the distinction between the strategies of the good and the poor language learner.

This article cannot give a full account of all the five steps. It offers only a few important points in order to explain our tentative conception of the strategies of the good language learner.

1. Knowing a language: "competence"

In learning a second language it is our ambition to approximate the native speaker's knowledge of the language. What has the native speaker in his first language that the second language learner lacks?

My interpretation of the native speaker's knowledge of the language is influenced by recent linguistic, psycholinguistic, and sociolinguistic studies, in particular the concept of "competence" introduced by Chomsky and later reinterpreted by Hymes and others.[1] As Chomsky has expressed it, competence is "the intrinsic tacit knowledge . . . that underlies actual performance."[2]

Four characteristics of the native speaker's knowledge or competence are: i) form, (ii) meaning, (iii) communication, and (iv) creativity.

(i) The intuitive mastery of the forms of a language.

Recently a grammar of contemporary English was published. It is a work of 1120 pages.[3] I can say with confidence that native speakers of English know the content of this book. But unlike the exposition in any grammar of contemporary English the knowledge of the English language they possess is not conceptual or analytical; it is global and intuitive. We master our native language; we can unfailingly distinguish right from wrong; we feel at home in it; and its rules are self-evident to us. But we cannot explain it.

Another characteristic of our mastery of linguistic form is that we don't handle our language as a jumble of separate items; it is an ordered system. We can move about within that system, transform present to past or future, positive to negative, make questions, turn sentences into noun phrases, noun phrases into sentences -- without even giving it a thought.

Theoretical linguists describe our knowledge and attempt to account for it and the deeper they go into it the more amazing it seems that anyone should ever master such a complicated system.

(ii) The intuitive mastery of the linguistic, cognitive, affective, and socio-cultural meanings expressed by the language forms.

In our native language there is a fusion of form and meaning. We take form for granted and focus on meaning not form. We want to express meaning and get at meaning when we listen or read. A saying which expresses this fusion of meaning and form is the well known remark about pigs: "It's natural for pigs to be called pigs because they are so dirty."

The speed with which we handle form and meaning together is revealed when we observe how we deal with ambiguous sentences, i.e. utterances which have the same form but two different meanings, such as jokes, puns, or advertising slogans, e.g.,

> On the side of a truck of a firm of nursery gardens we read "Our business is growing." The passer-by noticing this slogan can in a split second respond to the lexical and syntactical duality of this sentence and thereby respond to its semantic ambiguity.

We also have an intuitive grasp of the emotional associations of words, hence we know all the verbal taboos which escape us in a second language. We spontaneously know what variety or register is appropriate or out of place in given social circumstances. Moreover, we can identify, and sometimes even use, more than one variety of the language thus recognizing a speaker of our own dialect and marking him off against speakers of other social or geographical dialects.

> In a play, a skillful author can quickly suggest such differences in social or regional dialects, and in a comedy a wrong register can keep an audience in shrieks. But as learners of a second language, when abroad, we sit through a theatrical performance stony-faced wondering why everyone else rolls in the aisles: the associations, allusions, malapropisms, ambiguities, are not yet part of our repertoire.

(iii) The capacity to use the language with maximum attention to communication and minimum attention to form.

When we use language we are normally so absorbed in what we want to do with it, that we cannot pay attention to language as such. In listening to the news or reading of an event in the newspaper we are hardly aware of language, it's the event that captures our attention.

Consider the various uses of language in communication: greeting, leave-taking, small talk, enquiring, teaching, learning, writing letters, reading poetry, promising, persuading, betting, requesting, commanding, threatening, joking, declaring, arguing, swearing, or making excuses, and apologizing -- it's second nature in one's first language, but in a second language either an impossibility or an enviable art.[4]

Only in case of misunderstandings, in the "tip of the tongue" phenomenon or in other unusual circumstances do we become conscious of linguistic features. For example, tongue twisters are funny because suddenly the sensorimotor aspect of the language moves into focus, e.g., when I try to say "The Leith Police dismisseth us" or "She sells seashells on the seashore."

(iv) The creativity of language use.

Competence is dynamic and active and not mechanical or static. We don't

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handle our native language in a robot-like fashion as if we had swallowed a phrase book. We constantly adjust language use to novel situations and changing circumstances. We use the language for productive thinking. We may even invent novel forms and uses although these, too, would still conform to the general characteristics of the linguistic code.

2. Learning a language

In learning a new language what strategies are important (i) at the initial stage, (ii) during the learning process, and (iii) at the ideal end point?

(i) Initial stage: A massive learning problem.

At the beginning the learner's competence is zero or nearly so. The language is new to him, foreign in a non-political sense, odd and unfamiliar in every respect. He completely lacks mastery of linguistic *forms* and the forms are meaningless to him. He may want to express and convey *meanings* but is unable to do so. He may want to make sense of what he hears or sees. He might as well be deaf, dumb, or blind. Yet he is not a baby learning his first language. He knows only too well what is missing.

The first thing, then, the language learner must come to terms with is the utter frustration of non-communication. The learner voluntarily imposes upon himself a serious communicative handicap. Anyone learning a new language must accept this initial shock and continuing stress to which he is inevitably exposed.

Another feature the second-language learner has to come to terms with is the fact that while first-language competence is compelling and self-evident, many features of the new language which he now encounters -- phonology, morphology, lexis, syntax, and semantics, as well as sociocultural contexts -- appear, to begin with, as arbitrary, artificial, unnatural, and sometimes as finicky, fussy, and often plainly ridiculous. This is expressed in such remarks as "who would ever think of calling a horse 'Pferd' when it is so obviously a horse?" Moulton has vividly expressed these emotional reactions to a new language in the following explanation of German sounds for English-speaking learners:

> ...the student may be willing *intellectually* to accept the fact that the sounds of German are different from those of English. Quite often, however, he is not *emotionally* able to do this. The sounds of English constitute for him all that is normal in human speech; anything else strikes him as distinctly abnormal. Though reason may tell him otherwise, his emotions tell him that the *ü* of *Tür* is a "queer" sound which no normal, sensible human being would seriously use. Likewise, the uvular *r* of German strikes him as a quite outlandish rendition of what ought properly to be the familiar constricted *r* of English; and the *ch* of *doch* is to many students an almost indecent sound which ought to be kept outside of language entirely and used only for clearing the mouth of phlegm. These are involuntary reactions, of course; but they can be emotionally very strong.

> Being told to say such sounds as German *ü*, *r*, and *ch* is a little like being told to wear wrong clothing, to behave in a socially improper way. Anyone who has tried to teach German pronunciation will be familiar with the embarrassed giggles and titters and blushing which the new sounds produce during early stages of instruction.[5]

Whereas in our familiar language our expectations are regularly confirmed, in the second language it is as though we were in a town where we meet unexpected reactions and strange noises, and where the street signs mean nothing to us. We are utterly lost with no map to guide us. We lack what we have as a matter of course in our first language, a *secure reference system*, a *sense of orientation*, an *intuitive feeling for right or wrong*.

(ii) Learning process.

As we advance into the new language we build up a new reference system which at first is extremely shaky and poorly structured. It is a curious amalgam of what we interpret as the regularities of the new language, filtered through the reference system we already possess in our first language. The important point is that the learner who already has a language is not an empty, passive container who we, as teachers, fill with words and sentence patterns. He is an active participant who -- whether we welcome it or not -- approaches the new language with his repertoire of speech habits and preconceived notions about language implicit in his native language competence. These notions and habits help him in many ways to know what to do. In other respects, however, they interfere. Consequently, every learner -- good or bad -- formulates "hypotheses" (hunches, patterns, rules, habits) about the new language, and thus, stage by stage, builds up his own new language system.

The competence we develop in the new language may still be far removed from the target; for by the standards of the native speaker or the standard of our teacher our competence may be an odd and often painful mixture; but with its errors and false hypotheses it constitutes *our* approximation to the second language. It is what has come to be called an "interlanguage,"[6] an "idiosyncratic dialect,"[7] or the "approximative system."[8] There may be several successive approximations to the target language. In an early one we may understand very little and can hardly express ourselves to our satisfaction; nor can we be understood by native speakers. From this relatively poorly structured network the learner gradually advances to closer approximation to the native model. The poor learner's language becomes arrested or "fossilized" at a relatively low (unstructured, insecure) level of "interlanguage" whereas the good learner has the awareness, flexibility, and persistence to revise his approximations progressively.

From a psychological point of view it may be illuminating to look upon second language learning as similar to processes of social learning or conscience formation in early childhood. At first the child has no moral standards. These are given to him by the social environment and particularly his parents. He internalizes parental attitudes and they progressively become his standard or conscience. In a similar way, a second language learner has at first nothing to go by. The teacher constitutes the learner's externalized competence or linguistic conscience. The teacher thus becomes a kind of linguistic 'parent' figure and the student -- however grown-up or eminent in his own sphere of life -- in the new language feels like, a toddler.[9] The teacher has to tell him what is right or wrong in the second language; but the student, unlike the child, for his part must make a deliberate mental effort to co-operate in order to grasp, distinguish, retain, and use the enormous variety of linguistic forms and to learn and retain the meanings that are so self-evident to the native speaker.[10]

All learners, good or bad, are probably at least dimly aware of the fact that they cannot do all this in one massive step and that language learning is a cumulative task demanding time and planning. The question that course writers have tried to answer is how best to divide the learning activities in progressive stages which are most advantageous for the student in the development of second language competence. The most popular view, implicit in the majority of language courses, has been succinctly expressed by Valette and Disick.[11] In their scheme the development of competence progresses through four stages which have each their dominant characteristic: The learner advances from an early stage to mechanical skill or manipulation of patterns with an emphasis on form to a stage of transfer of patterns (extrapolation and application) with an emphasis on meaning, and thereafter, to true communication (understanding and production) with automaticity in the use of patterns, and, finally, the capacity for creative use.

This conceptualization -- although very popular and justifiable in many respects -- can be misleading. As I see it, the learning of a new language from the start has all the characteristics of full competence: form, meaning, communication, and creativeness, except that at first they are possessed in an insecure and rudimentary form. Good language learning leads from zero in all four areas gradually to levels of competence which become more secure, more differentiated, and complex, increasingly approximating the native speaker's. The good learner does not become arrested at a low interlanguage not only because he is more flexible and more persistent also because he is prepared to attend to the four areas of competence from the beginning and not to wait for an indefinite future to apply what he has learned. My suspicion is that for good learners the pulling apart of the learning of forms, meanings, communication, and creativity in conventional language programs is frustrating rather than productive.

(iii) The ideal end point: native-like competence.

The idea goal of the learning process is obvious: the native speaker's competence. It can be said that the second-language learner comes close to it when he has "internalized," "interiorized," or "incorporated" the rules of the new language. There is an emotional component in this process: when an item, rule, or feature of the language is internalized the learner feels at home or at ease with it and regards it as self-evident or right (and no longer as unnatural or contrived). Moreover, he has also acquired the semantic idiosyncracies, the cultural associations, and the social and emotive connotations that native speakers share with each other. If the second language were fully internalized the learner would handle the language in the manner of the native speaker, and he would be able to do all the things with the second language which we have previously outlined as characteristic of full native competence.

3. Three major problems of learning

In teaching or learning a language there are three major related problems to resolve. From the point of view of teaching these are the chief issues in the battle of the methods. From the point of view of language learning the student has to come to terms with three dilemmas. And the way he copes with them distinguishes the good from the poor learner.

(i) The discrepancy between first and second languages.

The first problem is the disparity between the inevitable dominance of the first language (and other languages previously learned) as a reference system and the inadequate or shaky development of the new language as a new reference system. The question that the learner faces is to what extent he should relate the new language to the available (but often misleading) reference system in the familiar tongue and to what extent he should suppress this tendency. Contrastive linguistics and error analysis, of course, are the systematic answers to this problem.[12] One criterion that distinguishes the good from the poor learner is that he is capable of handling this dilemma to his advantage.

(ii) The code-communication dilemma.

It seems to be psychologically impossible for an individual to pay attention simultaneously to the linguistic forms or code and to communicate in that code. In language classes we pay attention primarily to the code; the sound system, the vocabulary, the grammar. In short, we are concerned with the "formal" aspect of language. In acts of communication, as was pointed out previously, we handle the formal aspect without paying attention to it. The language has become "functional." We involve ourselves in language use. While both aspects cannot be attended to at the same time, most good language learners find that they must attend to both in turn. Again the good learner does this satisfactorily while the poor one does not. The good learner does not evade formal practice; but he strives to put the language to use. The poor learner avoids both.[13]

(iii) The choice between rational and intuitive learning.

The third issue is whether the language learner should treat the language learning task intellectually, conceptually, and systematically as a mental problem, or whether he should avoid thinking about the language and absorb the language more intuitively. As was already pointed out the competent language user is not aware of the system of rules that govern his language behaviour.

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Eventually, the learner also wants to be able to use the new language in the same or nearly the same intuitive and natural manner as the native language speaker does. In any case, a language is much too complicated a system that it could be handled at the conscious level in every respect. On the other hand, a language can at least to some extent be analyzed and explained. Most good language learners, I suspect, use their heads and set about it very systematically. There are, however, a few who can absorb a language almost entirely in an intuitive way. The dilemma whether to encourage the learner to handle the language rationally or intuitively underlies the conflict between the "cognitive code" and the "audiolingual habit" theory. Most theorists today are agreed that these two approaches are not irreconcilable. Equally, the good language learner handles this dilemma to the best advantage whereas the poor learner does not.

III. Ten Language Learning Strategies

What strategies does the good language learner use to move from zero to a workable competence and, in particular, how does he cope with the three major language learning problems I have described? The list of the ten strategies is derived from the argument in Part II of this paper; it also reflects my own experience as a language teacher and learner as well as my reading of the relevant literature, and it includes comparisons with the list of strategies developed by Joan Rubin.[14] It should be remembered that I am contrasting in a simplified manner the good and the poor learner, although in real life learners will combine characteristics of both.

(i) A personal learning style or positive learning strategies.

The learner faces the language learning task with conscious deliberation and develops his own approach and study habits. There are presumably several different ways of learning a language effectively. Good learners are likely to differ in their preference for this or that technique. A good learner will attempt to discover for himself his preferred techniques or his particular learning strategy so as to make his own language learning more efficient and more satisfying. It follows that he is also prepared to learn from his or other people's experience and to modify his approach accordingly.

The poor learner has little or no insight into his own learning and his own difficulties nor into the nature of the language learning habit; he does not develop any definite and effective study habits.

Good learners can often adapt to almost any learning condition, whereas the poor learner is hard-hit by the methods of teaching which are not appropriate for him.

The good learner is likely to use specific techniques of study and memorization, e.g., of revision, note-taking, or spacing learning tasks. Some of these are common techniques of effective study and as such described in writings on the psychology of study. Others are specific to the language learning task:

how to find, sort, analyze, synthesize, classify, and retrieve linguistic data. Very little has as yet been done to make explicit these study habits of good language learners, except in the writings on field methods of language study for linguists, anthropologists, and missionaries.[15]

(ii) An active approach to the learning task.

The good learner actively initiates the learning process and throughout adopts an attitude of personal responsibility for his own learning. He selects learning objectives for himself or adopts the purposes of the program. He takes deliberate steps to involve himself in the language and to adapt the language learning activities to his own life.

The poor learner often leans too heavily on the teacher. His attitude may appear passive, detached, or resistant to the learning of the language.

The good learner's active approach does not mean that he is always outgoing and in motion. Some good learners at certain stages deliberately adopt a receptive stance. But his is quite different from passivity or resistance to the demands of the program.

(iii) A tolerant and outgoing approach to the target language and empathy with its speakers.

The good language learner is not afraid, tense, or "up-tight" about the new language. He approaches it with an open and relaxed attitude. He has come to terms with his unconscious and deep-seated resistance to abandoning his first language reference system. Conversely, he tolerates the linguistic and cultural disorientation and frustrations which occur in the early stages of learning a new language. He can live with uncertainty and is prepared to bear the consequences of having no well-developed reference system in the second language. He accepts his status as a linguistic toddler.

Several observers have remarked on this characteristic. Rubin, for example, writes: "The good language learner is often not inhibited. He is willing to appear foolish if communication results. He is willing to make mistakes in order to learn and to communicate." Nida, in a similar way, has said, "In general one must murder a language before mastering it, and part of the murdering process must begin at once."[16]

It should be added that teaching techniques may often tend to encourage tenseness and fear of the new language. Whatever the merits of Lozanov's "suggestology," which in recent years has aroused interest in Canada, it is likely to invite a relaxed attitude in the learner.[17]

But more is needed than being relaxed. The learner requires an outgoing attitude toward the new language. The concept of an "integrative orientation," developed by Gardner and Lambert[18] may imply this feeling of warmth and outgoingness towards the new language and culture. Another aspect of this emotional approach to the new language is that the good learner makes a conscious effort, and is able to 'empathize' with the native speaker. The concept of imitation or mimicry, advocated by audiolingual teaching, covers a similar characteristic, although it is often viewed as too mechanical a process. The good language learner makes a very deliberate effort in a vicarious way to put himself into the place of (to identify with) the native speaker.[19]

Nida in his description of mimicry writes that it consists of three aspects: (i) acute and constant observation, (ii) throwing oneself into it, and (iii) continual practice. He elaborates "the throwing oneself into the mood" in this way: "At first this conscious adopting of different habits of speech may seem terribly awkward, in fact, even painfully displeasing. It goes against our grain, and we have a feeling that we may be offending people by the conscious way in which we imitate their every word and gesture. What seems odd to us is not, however, odd to them."[20]

(iv) Technical know-how about how to tackle a language.

The good language learner has sufficient linguistic knowledge to face up realistically to the difficulties and complexities of the second language. He understands that of necessity he operates from L1 as his reference system and therefore makes an active effort to understand rationally the new L2 reference system and to accommodate himself to it emotionally.

The good language learner has or develops a certain technical "know-how" about languages and language learning. He knows what to look out for. "The good language learner is prepared to attend to form." "The good language learner may try to isolate those linguistic features which will give him maximum intelligibility."[21] The books on language learning for anthropologists, already referred, are mines of information on how to develop expertise in tackling language problems in an economical and effective way.[22]

(v) Strategies of experimentation and planning with the object of developing the new language into an ordered system, and revising this system progressively.

In order to understand the development of a second language as a reference system, the good language learner constantly probes the language and forms hypotheses about it in order to discover rules and relationships and to organize the discrete elements into an ordered whole or system. The good language learner therefore always endeavours to move actively within the new system, and, as he learns new items, makes every attempt to relate them to items previously learned. In this connection Rubin has rightly drawn particular attention to the good language learner's characteristic as "a good guesser," relating it to one emphasized by Carton, the skill of "inferencing."[23] It is a process of constant organizing and reorganizing, a characteristic which may well be more important than rote memory, so often emphasized as a quality of good language learners.

The good learner also knows that the learning process is a prolonged one, and he plans his learning activities accordingly, changing the emphasis when needed and constantly revising his approximation to the target language. He is purposeful and systematic.

By contrast, the poor learner's language does not develop into a well-ordered system or network. It remains an untidy assemblage of separate items. He makes no attempt to relate items to each other. Because his approach is passive, unsystematic, and fragmented, he will complain that he has no memory for language. At best he has become arrested at a poorly structured low-level interlanguage.

(vi) Constantly searching for meaning.

The good language learner constantly searches for meaning by whatever method available: context, situation, explanation, trial and error, or translation. He makes a genuine effort to understand acts of communication in as full a sense as possible, i.e., not only the surface meaning but also the underlying sociocultural meaning and connotations. As Rubin has pointed out, the learner is sensitive to the cultural significance of language use.

The poor learner feels blocked at difficulties in interpreting meanings, adopts a helpless, even 'bovine' attitude and does not treat his failure to understand as a challenge.

(vii) Willingness to practise.

The good learner recognizes that the necessary internalization does not come all at once and without effort. It requires time, and regular, frequent exposure to the language either as deliberately devised practice or as authentic communication (see viii below), or preferably both.

He seizes every opportunity to practise or use the language and actively co-operates with his teacher by responding to the opportunities for practice provided. He is forthcoming in practice sessions, even if he finds them difficult; for he practises in order to overcome difficulties. "The good language learner usually practises."[24]

The poor language learner avoids practice and treats practice sessions as distateful chores to be got over with rapidly.

(viii) Willingness to use the language in real communication.

Knowing that formal practice does not automatically transfer to functional use, the good language learner seeks every available opportunity to bring his newly acquired competence into use in real or imagined situations.

But the good learner will not merely use what he has practised. He recognizes that practice at a purely conscious level is not sufficient. He therefore welcomes exposure to language use in communicative situations even beyond his level of formal competence. In spite of errors and misunderstandings he recognizes unconscious absorption (latent learning) as one contributory way of learning. Immersion into language use will be one of his most important means of perfecting his proficiency.

Most of the authors previously referred to insist on the need for such extensive practice in communicative settings. For example, Nida insists on language learning by language use. He writes, "language learning means plunging headlong into a series of completely different experiences." Writing for missionaries in Africa, he suggests that fending for oneself on a trip or building a house with local helpers will be an excellent way of making one's circumstances "a classroom for language learning."[25]

Elsewhere, he compares language learning to learning to play the piano.

> No amount of technical knowledge about music can compensate for the necessary hours sitting at the piano and practising progressively more complex musical selections. Furthermore, the beginning piano student does not learn to play pieces just by practising scales and chords. He must attempt to practise real pieces if he is ever going to learn to play them.

Applying this to language learning he suggests "to learn to speak one must speak." "We must become surrounded by the constant hubbub of language use if we are to learn."[26]

Gudschinsky writing for students of anthropology and field linguistics remarks "If the student chooses to maintain his dignity and pride, refusing to talk until he can do so without error, he is not likely to learn to talk well. If, on the other hand, he chooses to ignore his embarrassment and to talk in spite of feeling foolish, he will usually find that people are genuinely sympathetic and helpful although they are amused by his mistakes."[27]

In contrast to this active search for opportunities for language use, the poor language learner avoids such occasions. He feels inadequate, is impatient at his failure and imperfections and tends to opt out.

(ix) Self-monitoring and critical sensitivity to language use.

The good learner is circumspect, self-critical, cautious, and sensitive to language use. He monitors himself. The poor language learner blunders cheerfully. He is not self-critical and does not monitor himself.

The good learner is actively aware of the discrepancy between the assurance of his first language command and the uncertainties in his second language. He constantly learns from his mistakes. While he is bold in his trial-and-error he is not crude and insensitive in tackling the new language and culture. By contrast, Rivers has rightly criticized the "carefree indifference to the syntactic demands of the language, the glib inaccuracy of Spenglish or Frenglish which has little to do with the creative aspects of normal language use."[28] In other words, the good language learner as he broadens his use of the language also develops his skill at monitoring his own performance and at becoming sensitive to the subtleties and nuances of the second language usage.

(x) Developing the second language more and more as a separate reference system and learning to think in it.

The good language learner trains himself to exclude more and more the native language as his reference system and to develop the target language to such an extent that he acquires internal standards of grammaticality and cultural appropriateness. In other words, he strives to attain an intuitive command or *Sprachgefühl*.

This deliberate cutting adrift from the first language is described by Nida under the heading of "Thinking in a foreign language is absolutely essential." He continues,

> One can practise thinking in a foreign language by making up imaginary conversations, constructing speeches, or recalling what one has heard or read in the foreign language. Even though one's vocabulary may be limited, it is very important to experiment in formulating one's thinking by using the words and expressions of the language being acquired.[29]

The poor learner clings to his own language as a reference system. He refuses to let it go and to accept the new language as an independent and valid system in its own right.

IV. Conclusion

To sum up, the ten features that mark out good language learning are:

(1) A personal learning style or positive learning strategies;
(2) An active approach to the learning task;
(3) A tolerant and outgoing approach to the target language and empathy with its speakers;
(4) Technical know-how about how to tackle a language;
(5) Strategies of experimentation and planning with the object of developing the new language into an ordered system and of revising this system progressively;
(6) Constantly searching for meaning;
(7) Willingness to practise;
(8) Willingness to use the language in real communication;
(9) Self-monitoring and critical sensitivity to language use; and
(10) Developing the target language more and more as a separate reference system and learning to think in it.

It must be remembered that these characterizations are still highly speculative, and a number of questions now demand discussion:

1. How does this list of strategies match with our experience as teachers and learners?
2. Should other strategies be added or should some be deleted or modified?
3. Does the absence of one or several of the strategies indicate that the learner has problems?
4. Assuming that the list identifies mainly the good learner at elementary and perhaps intermediate stages, is the advanced learner adequately covered by these strategies?
5. Suppose we attempt by special training (talks, discussions, and counselling) to assist problem learners, could they be helped in this way to become more effective as language learners?

These are some of the questions to which the study on the good language learner is seeking an answer. It is by a better understanding of learners, their strategies, their thoughts and feelings during the learning process, their successes as well as their difficulties and failures, that we may gradually arrive at a better understanding of language learning and teaching.

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1. Chomsky's concept of competence, contrasted with performance, refers to the linguistic knowledge of an idealized "native speaker," whereas Hymes has extended this notion to include the social rules of language use in real-life situations. See N. Chomsky. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965) and D. Hymes, Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1974).
2. N. Chomsky, op.cit., p. 140.
3. R. Quirk, S. Greenbaum, G. Leech, J. Svartick. A Grammar of Contemporary English. (2nd. ed.), (London: Longmans, 1973).
4. Several interesting attempts have been made to classify the functions of language in acts of communication, e.g., W. P. Robinson, Language and Social Behaviour. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972).
5. W. J. Moulton. The Sounds of English and German (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 1-2.
6. L. Selinker. "Interlanguage," IRAL, Vol. X, No. 3 (1972), pp. 209-231.
7. S. P. Corder. Introducing Applied Linguistics (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973).
8. W. Nemser, "Approximative Systems of Foreign Language Learners," IRAL, Vol. IX, No. 2 (1971), pp. 115-123.
9. The analogy of the learner as a 'child' in relation to the new language and culture is well explored by D. N. Larson and W. A. Smalley, Becoming Bilingual -- A Guide to Language Learning. (New Canaan, Connecticut: Practical Anthropology, 1972), who attribute importance to the learner finding a family in the second language environment which will give the learner the protection and sympathetic guidance in the linguistic and cultural adjustment. For classroom learners making a friend in the new environment (e.g., a pen friend) or a "linguistic assistant" attached to a school may have a similar effect.
10. The process of internalization is only partially conscious. The mixing of deliberate and unconscious learning is referred to below as one of the learning problems; see pp. 309-310.

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11. R. M. Valette and R. S. Disick. Modern Language Performance Objectives and Individualization: A Handbook. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1972).
12. Corder (op.cit.) treats the use of errors in language learning in a particularly constructive and discriminating way.
13. J. Macnamara ("Nurseries, Streets and Classrooms: Some Comparisons and Deductions" Modern Language Journal, Vol. LVII, No. 5-6 (1973), pp. 250-254) has written most persuasively about the importance of learning language through use. However, the implication of his view that attention to formal features is unproductive runs counter to the experience of most good language learners who attend both to formal learning and functional use as learning strategies.
14. Rubin's unpublished paper characterizes several strategies of good learners. In addition to Rubin's list, I found particularly illuminating a few books written for anthropologists, linguists, and missionaries on learning languages in the field, although in these cases the languages are learned in the ambience of the target language in use (obviously different from learning a language in the classroom). These works are among the few that are specifically written from the learner's perspective. The books in question are: E. A. Nida. Learning a Foreign Language: A Handbook Prepared Especially for Missionaries (New York: Friendship Press, Council of the Churches of Christ, 1957); S. C. Gudschinsky. How to Learn an Unwritten Language (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967); W. J. Samarin. Field Linguistics: A Guide to Linguistic Field Work (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967; Larson & Smalley (op.cit., 1972). Other writings which include the learner's perspective are H. Sweet. The Practical Study of Languages (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1899); L. Bloomfield. Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages (Baltimore, Md., Linguistic Society of America, 1942); R. C. Yorkey. Study Skills for Students of English as a Second Language (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970).
15. See footnote 14 above.
16. Quoted from Rubin's unpublished paper, p. 10; and from Nida, op.cit. p. 21.
17. W. J. Bancroft. "Foreign Language Teaching in Bulgaria," Canadian Modern Language Review, XXIII, No. 3 (1972), 9-13.
18. R. Gardner and W. E. Lambert. Attitudes and Motivation in Second-Language Teaching (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972).
19. The quality of empathy as a characteristic of good language learners has been stressed by Guiora who has related the ability to pronounce a new language to this characteristic. (A. Z. Guiora, "Construct Validity and Transpositional Research: Toward an Empirical Study of Psychoanalytic Concepts," Comprehensive Psychiatry, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1972); and A. Z. Guiora, et al. The Role of Personality Variables in Second Language Behavior: Final Report (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Defense Language Institute, 1971).)
20. Nida, op.cit., pp. 22-23.
21. Quoted from Rubin's unpublished paper, pp. 8 and 11.
22. See footnote 14 above.
23. A. S. Carton. The "Method of Inference" in Foreign Language Study: A Summary (New York: The Research Foundation of the City University of New York for and on behalf of the City University of New York, Division of Teacher Education, Office of Research and Evaluation, 1966). "Inferencing: A process in using and learning language" in The Psychology of Second Language Learning: Papers from the Second International Congress of Applied Linguistics, by P. Pimsleur and T. Quinn (eds.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

24. Rubin, p. 9.
25. Nida, op.cit., p. 26
26. Nida, op,cit., pp. 24-25.
27. Gudschinsky, op.cit., p. 4.
28. W. M. Rivers. Speaking in Many Tongues: Essays in Foreign-Language Teaching (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972), p. 52.
29. Nida, op.cit., p. 24. Talking to oneself as a means of strengthening one's command of the foreign language is recommended by S. P. Farmer ("The Monologue: A neglected aspect of language learning," Modern Languages, Vol. LIII, No. 1 (1972), pp. 23-25) and P. J. T. Glendenning. Teach Yourself to Learn a Language (London: English Universities Press, Ltd., 1965).

PART THREE: SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING

Fifth Session: Teachers Talk about Acquisition, Learning, and Language Teaching

Sourcebook Readings:

Rivers, Wilga. "Talking Off the Tops of Their Heads."

Paulston, Christina Bratt. "Linguistic and Communicative Competence."

Paulston, Christina Bratt. "The Sequencing of Structural Pattern Drills."

Terrell, Tracy D. "A Natural Approach to Second Language Acquisition and Learning."

Krashen, Stephen D. "Language Learning Buttons."

Gallwey, W. Timothy. The Inner Game of Tennis. (Excerpts).

DESIGNING AN IDEAL LANGUAGE PROGRAM

Suppose you wanted to study a new foreign language. And suppose that you had the money and the time to study the language any way you wanted to. How would you design a foreign language study program that would be ideally suited to your personal style of learning?

How intensive would your program be? Would you prefer a classroom setting, or would you rather work individually with tutors? Would you insist on a particular teaching methodology? Would you study here, or in a community where the language is spoken?

For the purposes of this exercise, limit your ideal program to two semesters, or nine months of language training.

Part One

1. What foreign language would you like to study? ______________________
2. Why would you choose to learn this foreign language now?
   Comment:

3. Do you know any native speakers now, or have you visited any communities where the language is spoken?

4. What would your goals be? (Conversational fluency? Reading ability? Enough proficiency to study, work, or live in a foreign language community?)
   Describe:

Part Two: The Foreign Language Classroom

5. Would it be best for you to study the language full-time or part-time?
   Comment:

6. How intense should the teaching be? How many hours a week should you spend with a teacher or tutor?
   Describe:

7. Would it be best for you to study individually, or with a class of language students?
   Comment:

8. How large should your ideal language class be?

9. How much individual attention do you think you would need?
   Describe:

10. Would you want to have access to a tape lab, video-tapes, or other supplementary materials?
    Comment:

11. What methods of teaching would be best for you?
    Here are some methodologies that are popular now:
    - Audiolingual
    - The Direct Method
    - The Silent Way
    - Grammar-Translation
    - Counseling Learning/Community Language Learning
    - Suggestopedia

    Would you choose one of these methods, or a combination of methods?
    Comment:

12. Should the teacher be a native speaker?
    Comment:

Part Three: Living in the Foreign Language Community

13. Most people think that you learn a foreign language much more effectively if you live in a community where it is spoken. In your ideal language program, would you plan to spend part or all of your time in the foreign language community?
Comment:

14. Would it be best for you to begin your study in a classroom here before you travelled to the community?
Comment:

15. How would you "take advantage" of living where the language is spoken?
Describe:

16. Would you expect your teacher to give you assignments outside of class which would help you to interact with native speakers in the community? What sort of assignments might be helpful to you?
Describe:

17. Can you imagine any situations in the foreign community that might interfere with your language learning? (Remember the problems that the Schumanns discussed in their diary study.)
Comment:

Part Four: Expectations

18. What level of proficiency would you expect to reach in your ideal language program after nine months of study?
Describe:

19. What kinds of activities do you suppose you could do easily using your new foreign language? What activities would still be difficult?
Describe:

20. What kind of test would demonstrate most accurately what you had accomplished in nine months of foreign language study?
Comment:

Part Five: Description of an Ideal Foreign Language Program

Now, in a few brief paragraphs, or in an outline, describe an ideal language program for a learner like you. Do you think, generally speaking, that your program would be effective for most foreign language students?

TEACHING STRATEGIES

Christina Paulston in her article "The Sequencing of Structural Pattern Drills", which is included in the Sourcebook, describes three classes of structure drills: mechanical, meaningful, and communicative drills.

Based on your reading of the Paulston article, give an example of each class of drill. Teach the same structure in each drill, that is, focus on the same grammatical point, for example, the irregular past tense. But try to see if you can teach a common point with three different strategies, or three "classes" of structure drills.

Part Three

Teachers Talk about Acquisition, Learning, and Language Teaching

Wilga Rivers. "Talking Off the Tops of Their Heads." TESOL Quarterly 6, 1 (1972): 71-81.

Christina Bratt Paulston. "Linguistic and Communicative Competence." TESOL Quarterly 8, 4 (1974): 347-362.

Christina Bratt Paulston. "The Sequencing of Structural Pattern Drills." TESOL Quarterly 5, 2 (1971): 197-208,

Tracy D. Terrell. "A Natural Approach to Second Language Acquisition and Learning." Modern Language Journal 61 (1977): 325-337.

Stephen D. Krashen. "Language Learning Buttons."

W. Timothy Gallwey. The Inner Game of Tennis. (excerpts). New York: Random House, 1974.

The distinction which we have drawn between language learning and language acquisition has received a great deal of attention in recent research. The theory, as Tracy Terrell states it, is this:

> Language knowledge stems from two sources: what is learned and what is acquired. Learning is the conscious process of studying and intellectually understanding the grammar of the second language. Acquisition, on the other hand, refers to the unconscious absorption of general principles of grammar through real experiences of communication using the second language. It is the basis for most first language ability and in terms of the second language is commonly known as "picking up a language."

This does not appear to be a radical idea to most language teachers, or to most language learners, for that matter. It describes language behavior that most of us have experienced. If this distinction is valid, Krashen writes, "it follows that a central task, if not the central task, for language teaching is to encourage language acquisition, whether in the class or outside." The terms -- learning and acquisition -- may have been introduced only recently, but their implication for teachers is a familiar challenge: to bring into the classroom real communication in the foreign language.

Wilga Rivers, after taking a very critical view of traditional audiolingual drill practice, argues that "we have still not come to grips with our basic problem: How do we develop communicative ability in a foreign language (classroom)?" She proposes that there is a great difference between "skill-getting", which has to do with gaining conscious control over the rules of the foreign language, and "skill-using", which is the competence to actually use the language in communication. Drills and exercises of a purely mechanical sort are obviously not at all the same thing as real communication. Mechanical drilling and practice may be more or less efficient means of skill-getting, but they don't encourage skill-using, and she suggests ways of incorporating skill-using activities in the classroom.

> We must work out situations, from an early stage, where the student is on his own, trying to use the language for normal purposes of language: establishing social relations, seeking and giving information, expressing his reactions, learning to do something, hiding his intentions, or talking his way out of trouble, persuading, discouraging, entertaining others, or displaying his achievements.

She suggests involving the student in a range of activities that have a variety of communicative demands. The student should be "on his own", that is, not supported or aided by the teacher as he tries to cope with expressing himself in the foreign language to other students. He can act out words he doesn't know, or use any other aids to get the message across. The point of skill-using activity would be simply to express his meaning.

Although for Rivers this sort of activity has an important role in a language classroom, it does not replace other, more traditional learning activities.

> This skill-using experience is not intended to replace the careful teaching of the language we already supply (the skill-getting activities we organize) but to expand it with regular and frequent opportunities for autonomous interaction, thus making full provision for a dimension of language learning which at present is, if not completely neglected, at least given an insufficient place in our programs.

Communicative activities supplement "careful teaching of the language", and they are meant to "serve as a bridge" to autonomous communication. But, for Rivers, such activities could not be the primary focus of the foreign language curriculum. For her, skill-getting must precede skill-using.

Christina Bratt Paulston approaches these issues in a more formal way. She recognizes a distinction between knowledge of linguistic rules ("linguistic competence") and the ability to control the social uses of language ("communicative competence"). There are social codes involved in communicating with speakers of another language as well as linguistic codes. Getting the words right is not the same as getting the intended message across. ("It is much easier to be bilingual than bicultural.") She argues that it is important to incorporate communicative conduct and the social uses of language in the language classroom. But, while there are clearly established procedures for developing linguistic competence, it is not so clear how we might go about developing communicative competence.

In order to show how authentic communication can be incorporated in language instruction, Paulston analyzes the role and function of structural pattern drills in language learning. Drills should be undertaken for more than mere practice, which has "no pretense of being communication." Drills should, instead, move toward communication with a greater or lesser degree of teacher control. She agrees with Rivers that "there are two poles in language learning, i.e., from manipulation to communication, and that in efficient language teaching there needs to be some form of communication built into the drills." But the question, for Paulston, is how to develop communicative activities that retain structural focus. She proposes a sequence of teaching of structural pattern drills, leading from purely mechanical manipulation to actual communicative language use. She defines three classes of drills:

> mechanical, meaningful, and communicative...[which] we may distinguish...from each other if we analyze the drills in terms of (1) expected terminal behavior, (2) degree of response control, (3) the type of learning process involved, and (4) criteria for selection of utterance response.

Significantly, Paulston believes that these three classes of drills differ in terms of the use they make of language, rather than the linguistic difficulty of the structures involved. It is possible to use a very "easy" structure in a fully communicative way. This implies that a student does not need to build up a large repertoire of structures before attempting authentic communication in the foreign language.

The first class of drill is the mechanical drill. This sort of drill is wholly concerned with the purely mechanical manipulation of a structural pattern. A repetition drill, for example, in which students merely repeat structures after the teacher, is a drill of this type. A substitution or a transformation drill is also mechanical. The teacher expects the students to develop fully automatic responses, and therefore the teacher's control is complete, for there is only one "right answer." A student could successfully manipulate a mechanical drill without actually knowing the meaning of what he is saying (though teachers always try to make sure that the student does know.)

Meaningful drills are significantly different. The point of a meaningful drill is that the student must know the meaning in order to perform the drill. The teacher may ask a student: "What color is your book?" In order to answer, the student needs to know what was asked, and the word for the color of his book. "My book is blue." There is usually some indication that the student really understands the content of the statement. Still, the teacher maintains a great deal of control, in the sense that a "right answer" is expected, though it may be expressed in several different ways. The meaningful drill, like the mechanical drill, is still concerned with developing "habit formation", the automatic use of patterns or structures. But because the student is dealing with the content of what is being said, Paulston believes that two types of learning processes are involved here: conditioning by immediate reinforcement (habit formation as in mechanical drills) and learning through analysis, or "trial and error."

No real communication is involved when the students perform meaningful drills. These are merely language exercises, and they would seem odd and foolish if they were introduced into real situations. We would be surprised if someone came up to us on the street and asked, "What color is your shirt?" The situation itself supplies the information, and we would think a person who asked us something like that was either color blind or a little strange. In other words, a meaningful drill is still some distance from normal communicative use of language.

A communicative drill actually resembles the uses to which language is ordinarily put: giving new information, for example. If a student in a language class asks the teacher "What color is your car?", (in order to get new information), then real communication is taking place. In a communicative drill, the speaker adds new information, and in this sense, the drill approaches "normal speech for communication." But this remains a drill, as opposed to "free conversation, or free, random language, because some control is retained over the patterns used."

The communicative drill, which elsewhere is called a "contextualized structure drill", resembles actual communication in every sense, except that the structural, or semantic, or pragmatic focus of the drill is to some degree controlled. Communicative drills, as every teacher knows, are considerably more difficult to construct than mechanical or meaningful ones. Paulston makes several suggestions:

> Role playing within a set situation -- ordering a meal, carrying on a telephone conversation, buying groceries -- is one way of working with communicative drills. Soliciting opinions rather

> than factual answers from reading passages is another. The simplest way of working with communicative drills is just to instruct students to answer truthfully.

Students learn what they are taught. If language students receive only mechanical drills and meaningful exercises, it will be difficult for them to develop true communicative proficiency. Paulston offers a basic way of organizing language instruction so that a student's communicative ability is systematically developed:

> we need to take each pattern through a sequence of mechanical, meaningful, and communicative drills, not leaving out any one step. Mechanical drills are especially necessary in beginning courses and in learning languages markedly different from the native tongue. But I doubt that any amount of mechanical drills will lead to competence in a language, i.e., fluency to express one's own opinions in appropriate situations; and if that is our objective, then we must also employ meaningful and communicative drills in our teaching.

Thus Paulston, like Wilga Rivers, makes a case for incorporating natural language, communicative language in the language classroom, as a means of achieving true fluency in language students. Her argument is based on her understanding of the development and function of language. A teacher needs to work towards communication in the learning process. There must be opportunities for both learning and acquisition in the classroom.

Tracy Terrell takes a more controversial position. He believes there is a more "natural" approach to language acquisition. Essentially, he feels that the principal function of the language class should be to provide real communicative language input for the language student. Learning in the form of grammatical explanation and structure drills and exercises should take place entirely outside the classroom, and all in class activities should approximate natural communication. He suggests that

> the entire class period be devoted to communicative activities. Explanation and practice with form is essential if we expect any improvement in the output of the students' developing grammars, but they can be done for the most part outside of class. This outside work must be carefully planned and highly structured. The explanations must be clear enough to be understood by most students without using classroom time.

But the in class activities should be "designed to evoke real communication."

Now the question is how can a student become involved in "real communication" if he doesn't know the language yet. Terrell makes several suggestions. First, at the beginning stages, the teacher will supply most of the language input, and the students will not be expected to perform in the foreign language. Second, students should concentrate on developing a large vocabulary in the foreign language, since vocabulary has more direct impact on comprehension than does a structural repertoire. (This is the exact opposite of the traditional audio-lingual position that students should first control structures, then add to their vocabulary.) Third, the instructor should permit errors in the students' initial performance, and should not correct them. The focus should always be on communication, not form. Finally, the students should be allowed to respond in their native language, or in the foreign language, or in a combination of both.

Terrell bases his novel approach to language teaching on much the same understanding of the processes of language acquisition that Rivers and Paulston accept. There is a distinction between formal learning and acquisition of language. Acquired competence is the primary source of communicative proficiency. Acquisition is fostered by meaningful, natural language. There is a natural developmental process of second language acquisition which involves the creative construction of an internal grammar. But Terrell finds implications in these propositions that lead him to suggest a substantial "reappraisal of the goals of foreign language teachers...Most adults can learn to communicate effectively in a second language if they are given the opportunity to do so."

The key to acquisition of foreign language proficiency, Terrell believes, and Paulston and Rivers agree, is appropriate language input. Krashen called this appropriate input by another term: "intake, the input language that acquirers can actually utilize for language acquisition." By looking at "caretaker speech", he speculated that "intake, the optimal input for acquisition, may have the following characteristics":

> 1. Intake is understood by the acquirer. This is done by means of the acquirer's current competence and extralinguistic competence. Stated differently, if an acquirer is at a stage G_i of grammatical development, he or she can progress to the next stage $G_i + 1$ by understanding $G_i + 1$ syntax with the aid of context. Caretakers help guarantee comprehension of their speech to children by tying it into context -- to the here-and-now.
>
> 2. Intake is at or slightly in advance of G_i, the acquirer's current stage of grammatical competence. There is some very interesting evidence from child language acquisition research that indicates that children are in fact "tuned in" to input that is at their stage or "just beyond" and that, in fact, they "tune out" to language that is far beyond their level.

> 3. Intake is sequenced; it gets progressively more complex. This derives from the "maternal accommodation" effect noted above. Note, however, that the optimal sequence is not obvious, and not derivable from a linguistic description alone.
>
> 4. Intake is natural communication. This point derives from the well-established fact that caretakers employ caretaker speech in order to communicate with their children and not to teach them language. Acquisition seems to occur best when language users focus on the message and not on the form.

Krashen then applied this analysis to the various types of typical language classroom activities.

> Free Conversation. For elementary and intermediate level second-language acquirers, free conversation may or may not meet the first three requirements for intake. Free conversation in the target language is often not understood, may or may not be at the acquirer's level or just beyond it and is practically never progressive. A skilled teacher may be able to control his or her own speech to meet these requirements, but this is a challenging task. The same comments apply to language heard on the radio or TV: it will be optimal intake only when these requirements are met.
>
> Free conversation, radio or TV might be quite useful for the high-intermediate or advanced acquirer, and may, in fact, be the only way certain structures can be acquired, as material preparation for some parts of the target language may be difficult and simply may not exist.
>
> Manipulative and Mechanical Drill. At the other extreme, manipulation or mechanical exercises, where there is no attempt to actually communicate an idea (including substitution and repetition drills) also fail to completely satisfy intake requirements. Such use of language in isolation may be understood for its propositional content, but soon loses this effect. Paulston warns that overuse of this drill type produces tedium. Requirement 4, natural communication, is not met at all by manipulative-mechanical drills; by definition such practice is not an attempt to communicate.
>
> Meaningful and Communicative Drills. Meaningful and communicative drills, activities in which students can tell the truth or role play, have the potential for satisfying all the characteristics listed. They are designed to be understood, may be put at any level, may be progressive, and may involve real communication or something close to it. These types should be the most effective for acquisition. They are also the most difficult to construct.

There are two very practical implications of this discussion. The first is the point that simply being a native speaker of a language is insufficient background for being a teacher of that language. Teacher [illegible]logues which are not controlled for syntax and vocabulary are not

> likely to foster learning in students. "Free conversation" periods where students are told merely to "discuss" or to "use a structure" are likely to be ineffective as well. Free conversation is not an effective technique. Second, it is no easy task to construct interesting, effective, communicative and meaningful drills.

It is clear from Krashen's analysis that the task facing foreign language teachers is a challenging one. It is relatively easy to set up and teach purely mechanical exercises and drills. But such drills are, ultimately, not very productive. They may encourage habit formation and "automatic use of manipulated patterns", but that is not the same as communicative competence. There is now considerable doubt whether such drills ever lead to true language acquisition.

The "grammar class", the careful, systematic analysis and teaching of explicit rules of grammar, relates to language learning, rather than language acquisition, though for some learners, in some cases, rule learning may serve as a useful shortcut to acquiring a structure. Overt teaching of rules may be, occasionally, an appropriate aid to acquiring proficiency, but it is unlikely to be an effective means of fostering communicative ability.

Appropriate input -- intake, to use Krashen's term -- is crucial to the acquisition of true foreign language proficiency. This is why the communicative drills that Paulston describes are effective. They supply intake. They are a kind of "sheltered language" for foreign language students, meaningful, natural language, more or less finely tuned to the students' current level of proficiency, and sequenced, that is, progressively more complex, in order to develop the students' ability to communicate in the foreign language. But, as Paulston herself observes, these "contextualized structure drills" are difficult to construct and to conduct in the classroom.

Selected Readings for Session Five

Rivers, Wilga. "Talking Off the Tops of Their Heads"

Paulston, Christina Bratt. "Linguistic and Communicative Competence"

Paulston, Christina Bratt. "The Sequencing of Structural Pattern Drills"

Terrell, Tracy D. "A Natural Approach to Second Language Acquisition and Learning"

Krashen, Stephen D. "Language Learning Buttons"

Gallwey, W. Timothy. The Inner Game of Tennis. (Excerpts).

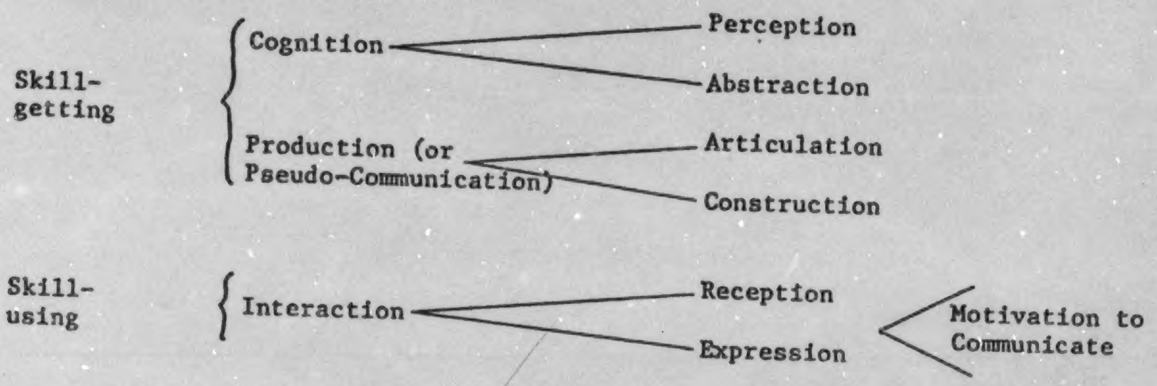
Rivers, Wilga M. "Talking Off the Tops of Their Heads." *TESOL Quarterly* 6, 1 (1972): 71-81. (Excerpts).

In a description of the Defense Language Institute program I read: "After basic patterns and structures are mastered, the student can proceed to more and more controlled substitution and eventually to free conversation." How delightfully simple it sounds! We breathe the fresh air of the uncomplicated. The student "masters the basic patterns and structures," we provide him with carefully controlled practice, and hey presto! he speaks freely in unstructured situations.

There were times, in days which seem now to belong to another age, when faith in the efficacy of structured courses and controlled drills to produce fluent speakers of another language went unchallenged. We knew where we wanted to go; we knew how to get there; we were happy with our products -- or were we? And were they? Are such cries of frustration as "I can't say anything off the top of my head, it all comes out as phrases from the book" new to our ears? The student complaint of the seventies sounds almost like a paraphrase of the more academic remark of 1948 that "while many students could participate in memorized conversations speedily and effortlessly, hardly any could produce at length fluent variations from the basic material, and none could talk on unrehearsed topics without constant and painful hesitation." In almost a quarter of a century we have still not come to grips with our basic problem: "How do we develop communicative ability in a foreign language?" We may intensify practice in the classroom (practice of patterns, practice of variation of patterns, practice in selection of patterns), but how do we engineer the great leap? A child learns all kinds of swimming movements while his loving parent holds him, lets him go a little but is there to support him as he loses confidence; then at some moment he swims. One moment he is a non-swimmer, then he is a swimmer. The movements are the same, the activity is of a new kind -- the difference is psychological. How does the non-swimmer become a swimmer? He becomes autonomous in his movements and in his directions; he draws on his own resources; he ceases to rely on somebody else's support; he takes off and he is swimming. How do we get our students to this autonomous stage of language use? This is the crucial point of our teaching. Until we have solved this problem we will continue to mark time: developing more and more efficient techniques for producing foreign language cripples, with all the necessary muscles and sinews but unable to walk alone. "Spontaneous expression," "liberated expression," "creative language use" -- the terms may vary with changing emphases in our profession; the goal still eludes us. Let's see what we can do here and now to attack this problem in a direct and practical fashion.

We must examine the problem at the point at which we are stalled. How can we help the student pass from the storing of linguistic knowledge and information about how this knowledge operates in communication to actual using of this knowledge for the multitudinous, unpredictable purposes of an individual in contact with other individuals? We do not need new ways to help the student acquire linguistic knowledge -- we know of many from our "twenty-five centuries of language teaching," and each in its heyday has seemed to be effective for this purpose. Here we can pick and choose according to our theoretical persuasion, our temperamental preferences, and our assessment of the learning styles of the particular groups with whom we are dealing. In any case, these students will learn according to their personal strategies in the ultimate secret of their individual personalities, even when they appear to be doing as we direct.

We need a new model of our language-teaching activity which allocates a full role to the student's individual learning in communication. I propose the following division of essential processes:



Ability to communicate, to interact verbally, presumes some knowledge (cognition) both in the perception of units, categories, and functions, and in the internalizing of the rules relating these categories and functions. I am not concerned here with how this knowledge is acquired and am willing to concede the validity (and probably the necessity) of a variety of approaches to such acquisitions. This knowledge must, however, be acquired. In the process of acquisition the student learns the production of language sequences: he learns through doing. Whether we use the terms "exercises" or "drills" or "activities" is immaterial; some kind of practice in putting together smoothly and confidently what he is learning is also essential. The student must learn to articulate acceptably and construct comprehensible foreign language sequences by rapid associations of learned elements. No matter how much we relate these activities to real-life situations this practice rarely passes beyond pseudo-communication: it is externally directed, not self-originating; it is a dependent, not an independent, activity. The utterances may even be original in their combinations of segments, but the student is not communicating anything that is of real import to him nor receiving any genuine message. This is practice in formulating communications and as such it is valuable practice. It is near-communication with all the outward appearances of communication, but the student does not have to demonstrate in these activities that he has taken the great leap into autonomy -- the leap that is crucial. Our failure in the past has been in our satisfaction with students who perform well in pseudo-communication. We have tended to assume that there will then be automatic transfer to performance in interaction. We may have encouraged some sketchy attempts at autonomous interaction, but always with the supporting hand: the instructor or the native speaker leading the group, drawing the student out, directing the interchange.

David Wolfe suggests that progress toward autonomy is hindered by the artificiality of language learning through "drills and exercises which force the student to lie." "From the point of view of true linguistic communication," he says, such "seemingly harmless sentences" as Yesterday I went to the movies, Last night I went to the game, Last week I went to the game "border on the nonsensical." I do not think that this is the problem. We may maintain that lying is a form of real communication, but, this aspect aside, sentences in drills of this type are pseudo-communication in any case, and it may be clearer to students that this is so if they are sometimes also absurd. In a recent foreign-language text co-authored by the playwright Ionesco, the nonsensical, shall we say whimsical, approach to adult learning is purposefully exploited with students playing manipulatively with such sentences as "The teacher is in the pocket of the vest of the watch," "The crocodile is more beautiful than Mary Jane," and "He says his parents are as big as the Eiffel Tower." Such manipulations are intended to force students to think of the meaning of what they are saying which is one step toward autonomy, and pure nonsense may on occasions be more effective in this regard than the colorless, socially correct actions of Dick and Jane, of Maria and Pedro.

In recent writings on foreign-language teaching, there has been increasing emphasis on communication, and on what are being called communication drills. Christina Paulston has developed the communication drill concept in more detail. She groups drills into mechanical drills, meaningful drills, and communicative drills.

Adrian Palmer suggests what he calls "communication practice drills." "In communication practice (CP) drills, the student finds pleasure in a response that is not only linguistically acceptable, but also conveys information personally relevant to himself and other people." Palmer maintains that "the most powerful technique at the teacher's disposal is his ability to verbally create situations which could be relevant to the student's own life and then to force the student to think about the meaning and consequences of what he would say in such situations."

Where do we go from here? We must work out situations, from an early stage, where the student is on his own, trying to use the language for the normal purposes of language: establishing social relations, seeking and giving information, expressing his reactions, learning to do something, hiding his intentions or talking his way out of trouble, persuading, discouraging, entertaining others, or displaying his achievements. When I say the student is "on his own," I mean he is not supported or directed by the teacher: he may well be working with another or other students. In this type of practice the student should be allowed to use anything he knows of the language and any aids (gestures, drawings, pantomime) to fill out his meaning, when he is "at a loss for words." In this way he will learn to draw on everything he knows at a particular moment in his acquisition of the language, and to fight to put his meaning over, as he would if he suddenly found himself on his own surrounded by monolingual speakers of the language. This experience is not intended to replace the careful teaching of the language we already supply (the skill-getting activities we organize) but to expand it with regular and frequent opportunities for autonomous interaction, thus making full provision for a dimension of language learning which at present is, if not completely neglected, at least given insufficient place in our programs.

In Savignon's very interesting study "students in the communicative skills program" (which consisted of one hour per week supplementing the regular audio-lingual type course)

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> were given the opportunity to speak French in a variety of communicative settings ranging from short (1-2 minute) exchanges between a student and a fluent speaker of French in a simulated situation to whole group discussions on topics of current interest. Emphasis was always on getting meaning across; students were urged to use every means at their disposal to understand and in turn to make themselves understood. Grammar and pronunciation errors were expected and were always ignored when they did not interfere with meaning. In other words, the experimenter and the other fluent speaker who participated in these sessions reacted to what was said, not to how it was said.

One student commented: "These sessions taught me to say what I wanted to say instead of book conversations." If we compare this remark with that of the student quoted at the beginning of this paper, it seems these students did begin to "talk off the tops of their heads."

Just how practice in autonomous interaction can be incorporated into the program will depend on the type of program, but incorporate it we must, giving it a substantial role in the students' learning. We must not feel that interaction practice is somehow "wasting time" when there is "so much to learn." Unless this "adventurous spirit" is given time to establish itself as a constant attitude most of what is learned will be stored unused, and we will produce learned individuals who are inhibited and fearful in situations requiring language use. With careful selection of the activity, such practice can be a part of every lesson, even quite early in the learning process, with expansion of the complexity of the task as the student advances.

Practice in autonomous interaction should be individualized in the sense that it should allow for the different ways students learn, the different paces at which they learn, the different things which interest them, and the different situations in which they prefer to learn. Students should be offered a choice of tasks (things to do, things to find out, problems to solve, situations to which to react) and then be allowed to choose their own way, their own place, time, and company, for handling them. Some may prefer to work regularly with one other person, some will prefer to work consistently with a small group, some will choose to work with the teacher. Some who are loners will prefer to work through certain situations by themselves demonstrating their capacity as individuals (and many of these in a quiet way may outpace their fellows through sheer singlemindedness of purpose).

Students cannot be set down in groups, or sent off in pairs, and told to interact in the foreign language. Motivation to communicate must be aroused. Occasionally some fortuitous incident or combination of personalities will cause a desire to communicate something in the foreign language to emerge spontaneously, but mostly it will need to be fostered by the intrinsic interest of the task proposed for the students concerned. Such interest will make the interaction which follows autonomous: a genuine commmunication from one person to another, not just another imposed act of pseudo-communication. Because of the personal nature of the activity we are promoting, the type of reaction to be displayed must always remain consistent with the personality of the particular student. Some people are temperamentally incapable of interacting with a babble of words; to force them to do so is to force them back into pseudo-communication and into mouthing learned phrases. The quality of the interaction will be judged by other criteria: ability to receive and express meaning, to understand and convey intentions, to perform acceptably in situations and in relations with others.

Earlier I suggested various natural uses of language in interaction which can be used for this type of activity. Here I will expand on these and set down a few elaborations of each; any imaginative teacher will think of many others.

(1) Establishing and maintaining social relations: greetings between persons of the same and different age and status, introductions, wishes for special occasions, polite enquiries (with attention to the permissible and the expected questions in the culture), making arrangements, giving directions to strangers, apologies, excuses, refusals, mild rebukes, hedging (the gentle art of noncommunication), encouraging, discouraging, and persuading others. Students might be sent to find out from a monolingual native speaker (or one who pretends to be monolingual) how these are enacted in the cultural context of the language being learned.

(2) Seeking information on subjects for which students have some basic vocabulary. (At some point finding out specific technical vocabulary can be part of this type of interaction). Once again the native speaker or informant acts as though he were monolingual, or alternatively the students seek the information from other speakers of the language outside of the course or the school. The information may be useful for (1), for (3), for (4), for (8), or even for (11).

(3) Giving information about oneself, one's background, one's country, or about some subject in which one is proficient. The student may be giving information to other students learning to do or make something (4), or passing on information gained in (2). Simulated settings like bank or airline counters, customs desks, workshops, or restaurants may be used where the students are confined to the school setting.

(4) Learning to do or make something. Possibilities here are limitless. The pressure of intensive courses can be relieved by organizing actual sessions in the foreign language where students work with real-life materials and activities (sports, hobbies, crafts, physical exercise).

(5) Expressing one's reactions. The student can be put in real situations or simulated situations where he has to react verbally throughout a television show, at an exhibition of pictures or photographs, or during a friendly sharing of slides.

(6) Hiding one's intentions. Each student may be given a mission which he must not reveal under any provocation, but which he tries to carry out within a given period of time. This type of activity carries purposeful use of the language beyond course hours as students try to discover each other's missions.

(7) Talking one's way out of trouble. Simulated or real situations should be set up of increasing verbal difficulty where the student must use his wits to extract himself from his dilemma.

(8) Problem solving. A problem may involve (2) or (4), or even (6) and (7). The problem presented should be an active one whose solution requires verbal activity or enquiry. As early as 1954 Carroll posed the question whether aural-oral methods might not be more successful "if, instead of presenting the student with

a fixed, predetermined lesson to be learned, the teacher created a 'problem-solving' situation in which the student must find...appropriate verbal responses for solving the problem" thus being early forced "to learn, by a kind of trial-and-error process, to communicate rather than merely to utter the speech patterns in the lesson plans."

(9) Sharing leisure activities. Students should have the opportunity to learn and become proficient in the games and diversions of the foreign culture. They should be able to participate in verbal competitions. Where there are special activities associated with festivals or national holidays these should be engaged in.

(10) Conversing over the telephone. This is always difficult in a foreign language and should be practiced early. The student should use a phone book in the foreign language and where this is possible make actual calls enquiring about goods, services, or timetables for transport. The help of monolingual contacts outside the course should be enlisted. (Some incapacitated persons and older people living alone would enjoy participating in this type of activity.) This activity can be linked with (2) or (8), and will often involve (3).

(11) Entertaining. The student should be given the opportunity to use his natural talents or encouraged through role-playing sessions to act out in front of a group. He may conduct a radio call-in program or a TV talk show, or groups of student may prepare and present radio or TV commercials (these may involve more or less talking interspersed with mime and are therefore very suitable for the early stages of a course).

(12) Displaying one's achievements. Students may tell the group about what they did in (4), (5), (6), (7), or (8), or present and explain special projects. This can be a regular culminating activity to draw together more individualized efforts at interaction.

All of these activities will obviously not be possible for all students from the earliest stage of learning. The teacher will select and graduate activities from these categories so that the attitude of seeking to communicate is developed early in an activity which is within the student's growing capacity. An impossible task which bewilders and discourages the student too early in his language learning is just as inhibiting of ultimate fluency as lack of opportunity to try what he can do with what he knows.

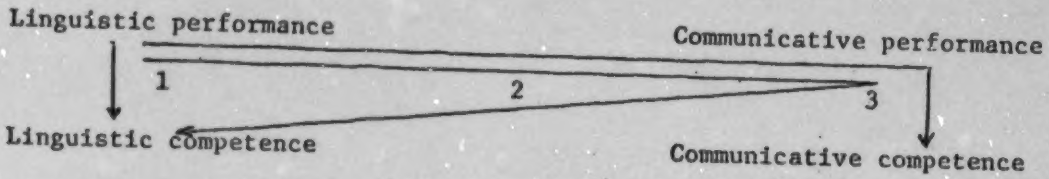
Some people will have deep-seated doubts about accepting such an approach because they foresee that the student will make many errors which may well become engrained and ineradicable. It was because of such problems that many turned away from the direct method, seeking something more systematic which would seem to ensure more accurate production. Unfortunately, the emphasis on correct production at all times and the firm determination to create a learning situation where students would not make mistakes seems to have led to an impasse for many students. If we wish to facilitate the "great leap" I have described, then a change of attitude toward mistakes during interaction practice is imperative. It is during production (or pseudo-communication) practice that immediate corrections should be made. It is then that we should make the student conscious of possible errors and so familiarize him with acceptable sequences that he is able to monitor his own production and work toward its improvement in spontaneous interaction. In interaction practice we are trying to develop an attitude of innovation and experimentation with the new language. Nothing is more dampening of enthusiasm and effort than constant correction when the student is trying to express his ideas within the limitations of his newly-acquired knowledge of the language. What is required is for the instructor to note silently consistent and systematic errors made by the student in his presence (not slips of the tongue and occasional lapses in areas where the student usually acquits himself well); these errors will then be discussed with the student at a time when the instructor is helping him evaluate his success in interaction, with particular attention being paid to those types of errors which hinder communication. Such an analytic session may be conducted from time to time with a tape of an actual communication sequence, the student or group of students being asked to detect errors in their own spontaneous production and suggest corrections and improvements. This technique makes the students more alert to their own mistakes and to other possibilities for expressing their meaning which they have not been exploiting.

Many of the types of activities listed may have already found their place in our courses. The originality of the approach lies not so much in the novelty of the activities as in the way in which they are approached. To develop control of language for communication we must at some time allow the student autonomy, and conversely discourage him from maintaining dependence. We must give the student practice in relying on his own resources and using his ingenuity so that very early in his language learning he realizes that only by interacting freely and independently with others can he learn the control and ready retrieval essential for fluent language use.

Paulston, Christina Bratt, "Linguistic and Communicative Competence." TESOL Quarterly. 8, 4 (December 1974): 347-362 (excerpts).

In this paper I would like to examine the notion of communicative competence and the implications we can draw from it for language teaching. I am using the term in Dell Hymes' sense to refer to the social rules of language use, and I argue that there are important implications for language teaching in using such a concept of communicative competence rather than taking it to mean simply linguistic interaction in the target language. If you accept Hymes' notion that a model of language must be designed with a face toward communicative conduct and social life, then it follows that a model for teaching language must also be designed with a face toward communicative conduct and social life.

I would like to suggest a model for language teaching which sets up a framework for identifying and discussing strategies and techniques in the teaching process, taking into account the social meaning of language. The model looks like this:

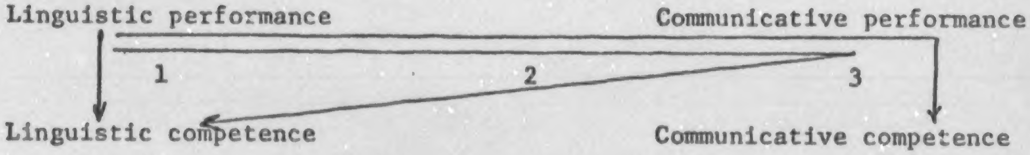


Prior to a discussion of the implications for language teaching, the terms, especially that of communicative performance, merit careful consideration. By linguistic competence, Chomsky means the native speaker's knowledge of his own language which enables him to create new grammatical sentences and to understand sentences spoken to him, to reject *the ate goldfish John as un-English and to recognize that flying planes can be dangerous is ambiguous. Linguistic performance is the actual utterance, what the speaker actually says, which often imperfectly reflects the underlying competence (Chomsky 1968). Communicative competence is the social rules of language use, "the systemic sets of social interactional rules" in Grimshaw's terms (1973: 109). I have added the notion of communicative performance as I need a term which will designate communication which carries no distinctive social significance. In the real world this is not possible, but in the artificial world of language classrooms there are communicative activities which lack specific deep structures of social meaning. I suspect this statement needs further modification: an activity like Twenty Questions does not carry any distinctive social meaning of the specific language it is played in; the students simply function with their native rules of speaking, and whatever social meaning lies in playing Twenty Questions in Spanish, French or English comes from the social interactional rules of the subculture of the classroom, but it has nothing to do with developing communicative competence in the target language. I also need a term which can be used to describe an encounter where different social meanings are encoded in, or decoded from, the same linguistic expression. In such a case we get communicative ambiguity, the same surface behavior but with the deep structures in two separate sets of communicative competence -- the very opposite of Gumperz' "efficient communication." Let me try to clarify this with a representative anecdote. In Sweden, we celebrated Thanks-giving by having my immediate family and friends for a traditional turkey dinner. I was busy in the kitchen and came belatedly into the livingroom where my sister-in-law had just arrived. In impeccable Swedish I asked her politely, "Do you know everyone?" Any native American would correctly interpret that to mean that I wanted to know if she had been introduced to those guests she had not previously met. She looked at me sourly and said, "I don't know everyone, but if you are asking me if I have greeted everyone, I have." Fussed as I was and in such an archetypical American stituation, I had momentarily forgotten that proper manners demand that Swedes do not wait to be introduced by a third party, but go around the room, shake hands with everyone and say thir name aloud to those they have not previously met. Any child knows that, and my sister-in-law felt I had reprimanded her for bad manners, her faulty sharing of a systemic set of social interactional rules. Clearly, the meaning of an interaction is easily misinterpreted if the speakers don't share the same set of rules, as in this example of noneffective communication where the same surface structure carried different social meaning.

In language teaching we are always dealing with cross-cultural encounters, and what typically happens is that the student applies his native rules of speaking to the target language, rules which may imply a very different social significance. Here is another anecdote from my Swedish visit. Americans ask many questions, often of a rather personal nature, and they are also (presumably as a consequence) very skilled at avoiding answering questions. This is simply an accepted part of communicative competence. On a superficial level, communicative competence may simply be defined as tact and good manners, and people not sharing that same system will consider others rude and tactless, just as the stereotyped American is considered rude and tactless in Europe. Well, in Sweden I asked a question of a confidential family matter that I expected not to be answered; to my surprise it was, only to have my family criticize me for my inexcusable tactless behavior. My answer that the question need not have been answered was totally dismissed; according to Swedish rules of speaking such questions are not asked; but according to the same rules, questions asked are answered without subterfuge. By American rules, on the contrary, you may ask but without expecting an answer. In this encounter there was nothing faulty with the linguistic aspects -- we were both native speakers of Swedish -- nor with the communicative performance -- we both understood that I sought a piece of information -- but the social significance certainly was at variance. I was applying the wrong set of rules of communicative competence.

This anecdote also illustrates another aspect of communicative competence: it is easier to keep one's linguistic codes separate than one's social codes as one often is not aware of the social codes on a conscious level until they are violated. It is much easier to be bilingual than bicultural.

So far I have said very little about teaching. Oller (1973: 7) at his satirical best points out that it is very fashionable to say that you don't know much about a topic before you go on to discuss it so that you can pass yourself off as a bit of humble genius. Still, I don't think we know very much of what really goes on in language acquisition. Empirically, however, I know what our students must do in order to learn English. I have outlined elsewhere the process of mechanical-meaningful-communicative kinds of exercises that the learner needs to go through in order to internalize the grammatical rules of the language (Paulston, 1970: 187-193 and 1971: 197-208). I am more convinced than ever after four months of teaching non-academic adults of the necessity of the initial stage of acquiring basic skills through habituation, just as I remain convinced of the need for the communicative drills in order to internalize the rules. As Rivers points out in her excellent "Talking Off the Top of Their Heads," we next need autonomous interaction activities where the students use language for the normal purpose of language: establishing social relations, seeking and giving information, hiding one's intentions, etc. It is at this point we need to become sensitive to whether these are activities for developing communicative competence or merely exercises in communicative performance. It may well be wrong to say merely; it is valid to ask how much communicative competence one needs to teach in foreign language teaching. At this point we might consider the model again:



I find it very dubious that Strategy 1 can be efficient in language learning. Merely practice in the rules and utterances of a language is not likely to produce fluent speakers, a fact to which both the products of the grammar-translation and classic audiolingual methods attest. Strategy 2, which combines skill-getting exercises (drills, dialogues, rules, etc.) with skill-using activities will under propitious circumstances (good programs, trained teachers, motivated students), result in linguistic competence. In foreign langauge teaching that may be all one asks. It is the contention of this paper that the most efficient language teaching follows Strategy 3.

Well, what do we teach? When we teach How do you do in the first lesson, we better also teach that it is only used in face to face encounters, and when we later do telephone conversations we can easily contrast the Hello, this is John Doe with How do you do, I am John Doe. Of course, situational teaching has always included aspects of this but what we need to do is incorporate a systematic contrast of situational constraints on grammatical patterns.

We also need to incorporate teaching situational constraints on register variation. Many expressions which are socially inappropriate in English are caused by register interference. The Spanish speaker's Dios mio does not carry the same meaning as My God, but how is he to know that it is not a harmless expletive in English unless he is told so. We also need to teach our students to be sensitive to levels of style so that noting such levels becomes part of their language learning strategies. We run our students through dialogues like these:

Variations on a Theme #1

Last weekend Bill went to see a very popular movie, starring one of his favorite actors and a beautiful young actress. He's discussing it with Nancy.

NANCY: Hey, Bill. What did you do over the weekend?
BILL: Saw the new flick with Peck and Welch.
NANCY: Oh, yeah? How was it?

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BILL: Peck was great as usual, and well, you don't go to see great acting from Raquel.
NANCY: Know what you mean. All the guys go to watch Raquel. For me Peck is the drawing card. Gotta go to class -- see you later.
BILL: So long.
On the way home on the bus, Bill sits next to a lady who lives down the street. She is a good friend of Bill's parents.
MRS. CASSETTI: Did you have a pleasant weekend, Bill?
BILL: Yes, thank you. I studied quite a bit, but Saturday I took the evening off and went to the new movie with Gregory Peck and Raquel Welch.
MRS. CASSETTI: Oh, did you? Did you enjoy it?
BILL: Gregory Peck was very good -- he always is. Raquel Welch isn't expected to be a great actress, I guess.
MRS. CASSETTI: Yes, I suppose you're right. All of the young men certainly seem to enjoy her movies. From my point of view Gregory Peck would be the reason for going. I have to get off here. It was nice to see you, Bill.
BILL: It was nice talking to you. Goodbye, Mrs. Cassetti. (Bruder 1973).

We need to teach the small talk of such situations which tend to use phatic language: greetings, introductions, farewells. The students need to stand up and do introductions, greetings, etc. The nonverbal aspects of language are exceedingly important. I told my Swedish students, for instance, that in English it is the woman who first extends her hand in greeting -- the reverse of Swedish -- and that a man has to be prepared for the possibility that a woman will not shake hands with him, a very difficult point to learn for speakers from hand-shaking cultures. My students had lots of fun doing those.

When we did invitations, I made sure to tell them that the Swedish custom of "tacka for sist" (thanking for the last time) does not exist in English. The day after a dinner, party, or any such social occasion, a Swede calls his hostess and thanks her for a charming time. The absence of such a call will be perceived as unfriendly and raise speculations as to its cause. Clearly a Swedish hostess needs to know what not to expect as well as what to expect, for what is not said can also carry social meaning.

How is the teacher going to know that such rules are needed? The difficulty with so many rules of communicative competence is that we don't consciously know many of our own, much less those of another culture. This is where the teacher becomes an anthropologist, by listening to students, observing behavior and most of all by being aware and alert to possible conflicts. Over the years you amass quite a few rules; in the English Language Institute we even have a rule which says adult males don't walk hand in hand in the streets, courtesy of our Libyan students.

There are several classroom techniques for teaching communicative competence. I have already discussed the use of dialogues for teaching register variation. Judy Kettering in her Communication Activities (1974) uses them as one step in her unit on "Establishing and Maintaining Social Relations," which covers such speech encounters as greetings, partings, introductions, excuses, compliments, complaints, etc. These are exercises deliberately designed to develop communicative competence.

This exercise on hiding feelings is self-explanatory (Kettering 1974: 37-40).

Hiding Feelings

Phrases

A. Formal

$$1.\ \text{The}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{cake}\\ \text{dinner}\\ \text{soup}\\ \text{dessert}\end{array}\right\}\text{is very good, but I'm}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{not very hungry.}\\ \text{full}\\ \text{not well.}\end{array}\right\}$$

$$2.\ \text{Your new}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{dress}\\ \text{coat}\\ \text{hat}\\ \text{house}\end{array}\right\}\text{is very}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{interesting.}\\ \text{unusual.}\\ \text{nice.}\end{array}\right\}$$

3. I can see your point.
I guess you're right.
I agree, but...

B. Informal -- Informal is not really applicable in this case. Either the more formal usage is used as above, or if you are good friends then you may be very honest and tell the person just what you think or feel.

Dialogues

A. Formal

1. A: How do you like my new dress?
B: Oh, it's very unusual.
A: Shall I wear it to dinner tomorrow night, or shall I wear the blue and white one?
B: They are both nice, but I think I prefer the blue and white dress.

2. A: That was quite a party last night.
B: It sure was. Did you have a chance to meet Bill Jameson?
A: Just for a few minutes.
B: What did you think of him:
A: He seems quite intelligent, but I really only just met him.

3. A: Bob, you don't look very well. Are you sick?
B: Well, I have felt better.
A: Take it easy.
B: Thanks, I will. Don't worry, I'm sure I'll feel better tomorrow.

Situations

1. A: Carol, I need some help.
B: What's the matter?
A: I can't decide what dress to wear to the party. What do you think?
B:

2. A: Don't I look different?
   B: No...Oh! You got your hair cut!
   A: I thought you'd never notice. Do you like it?
   B:

B. Semi-structured

1. A: Who was that girl that talked so much at the party?
   B: Oh, that was Amy Demian, an old friend of mine.
   A:
   B: She's a sweet girl. Why, didn't you like her?
   A:

2. A: Pier, you haven't eaten your cake!
   B:
   A: Oh, but I made it especially for you.
   B:

C. Unstructured

1. You are invited to an American home for dinner. You don't like the salad but you ate it. They offer you some more.
2. Your good friend is wearing a horrible shirt. He just bought it and asks you how you like it.
3. Your mother tells you that you don't look well. She asks you how you feel. You feel terrible but you want to go the ball game and don't want her to know.
4. Your roommate, Wendy, is getting married to a man you really can't stand, even for a few minutes. She asks you to go to dinner with them to celebrate.

In all these activities, there is a progression from tightly controlled language use, where the student is learning the social formulas to a situation where he can use them. The unstructured situations lend themselves particularly well to role play. It is very difficult to lie, to complain, to turn someone down for a date in another language, and our students need to be taught how to do this in an appropriate manner. Note section 1B. In all of these encounters, the students are taught a formal and informal way for apologizing, saying thank you, etc.

Sometimes an activity seems to be ideal for teaching communicative competence but in fact is not. Problem-solving interaction activities are excellent for developing linguistic competence, but unless the teacher consciously sums up the discussion with comment on the relative acceptability in our culture of the alternative solutions, these activities merely confirm cultural bias. I tried several of Kettering's interaction activities in Sweden, and I didn't notice this cultural bias until I tried it with a mixed class. Here is the activity: (Kettering 1974: 76):

Dinner at an American Home

Read the following problem individually. Consider the possible solutions. You may add your own solution if you think you can improve on the ones given. Decide on the solution that you think is the best one and be able to justify your solution.

Then discuss your solutions in your group, giving your choices and discussing the advantages and disadvantages of each. You must decide together on one solution only (that means that you may have to give up your own solution) and be able to justify it.

Meet as a class and discuss group decisions. REMEMBER: There is no single right answer.

Time limit: approx. 20-30 minutes.

Problem

An American family asks you for dinner. They pick you up and take you to their home. They are very nice and try hard to make you forget how nervous and afraid you are about your English and the new customs. The wife has made a special dinner for you and has used her best dishes and tablecloth. She serves the food and you take a lot of the main dish to make her feel happy. You taste and you hate it! It has liver in it and you never eat liver. She is waiting to see if you like the food. What do you do?

a) Excuse yourself and tell her you suddenly feel very ill.
b) Explain to her that you just don't like liver.
c) Try to eat the liver and pretend you like it.
d) Don't say anything and just don't eat it but eat a lot of the other food.
e) Tell her your doctor told you never to eat liver because it makes you sick.
f)
g)

In the other classes, the students had settled on the rule I also have: Eat it and pretend you like it. So did the Swedes in this class, but the Finn said she would say nothing but not eat it, the Columbian said she would say her doctor had told her not to eat liver and the German stated emphatically that she would tell the hostess that she didn't like it. I mention this because it is so very easy to delude oneself that this was an activity designed to develop communicative competence; in itself it is a typical communicative performance exercise. These types of exercises are excellent and necessary but one should recognize them for what they are.

Selekman (1973) developed a very simple exercise for his Hebrew class which is most effective:

Direct Line to Hebrew

Procedure:

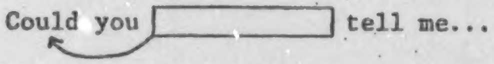
1. Each student is given a phone number of a participating monolingual native speaker.
2. The student must call this number, introduce himself and indicate why he is calling -- all of this in Hebrew, of course.

3. The student must find out a task that has already been planned for him to do and that the native speaker is ready to give to the student; for example in coordination with the "have to do something" structure my students were working with, one task was, "You have to bring a prayer book to Hebrew school tomorrow."
4. It is the student's problem to arrive at some understanding of the task if he does not immediately grasp what the native speaker is communicating.
5. The student should thank the native speaker, and make the proper farewell.
6. The student should go through with the task assigned, and be prepared to tell in class in Hebrew a summary of the phone conversation and the resulting activity.

There was a very high degree of the social use of language in such a brief encounter and the authenticity, in Stevick's sense (1971), of the situation is remarkably conducive to language learning.

Teaching in Sweden I was impressed with the effectiveness of role play in bringing about communicative activity in the classroom. Role play, like the interaction activities, does not automatically lend itself to developing communicative competence, but it can easily enough be slanted that way. In a role play about a car accident, developed by Britton and Lagoze (1974), the wife of one driver is angry with both the police and the young boy who hit their car. It can be useful to know how to express anger with a policeman in an acceptable manner, and there's a wealth of sociolinguistic information in the directions and suitable phrases given for preparing for the role play. That particular role play is for a rather advanced class but they can be done on a very elementary level too.

This discussion about systemic sets of social interactional rules may sound hopelessly remote from your own classroom, especially as there are virtually no materials available yet. But let me finish by showing you how very simple it can be. I taught many bad lessons but here is one that went well, and it exemplifies the various steps one would wish to include for virtually every pattern. Actually it is only a segment of a lesson, forming the last twenty minutes of a ninety minute class. The teaching point was Could in polite requests. (Swedes say can in direct translation of kan). We began with a passage from the text where the pattern appeared. They identified the pattern and we reviewed the modal question form. I simply wrote:



on the board; a forty second explanation was quite sufficient. There were no drills in our text so I added two sets of mechanical drills for choral fluency practice and one meaningful chain drill where each student requested another to do something.

Next we did a brief dialogue of a telephone conversation which contained several requests. I played the tape twice while they followed in their books, memorizing the social formulas. We then did pupil-to-pupil work where the whole class was divided into pairs working simultaneously. The students in each pair would take turns reading the lines from the book while the other answered from memory until they could run through both parts of the dialogue without looking at the text. This old technique is a remarkably quick way for a class to memorize brief dialogues.

Now they needed to use what they had practiced so we did some elementary role play. I had made up sets of cards where one card would say:

> You are in London on a business trip and you have Saturday free. You want to know if the British Museum is open and how much the entrance fee is.

The other card said:

> The British Museum is open Monday through Saturday, 9AM to 5PM. There is no entrance fee.

The students got a card each and then had to pretend to call up their partners and request whatever information the card instructed them to. As each set dealt with a different situation, it never got boring to hear each pair run through their dialogue. There was a great deal of student helping and correcting (I of course was not correcting them), which is always a sign that the communicative act has become more important than learning the linguistic forms. The students help and correct because they want to be sure meaning gets across.

It is the next step which is so difficult to achieve in language teaching: the need for actual communication in the target language. I remembered Selekman's exercise and informed my students that they would have to call my neighbor, a monolingual English speaker, for their next week's assignment. Suddenly there was authenticity in making a telephone conversation in English, the socio-linguistic rules became real, and it made a difference beyond the learning of them if the polite requests for information were properly managed. As one student muttered on her way out, "Now I'll have to practice all day before I can call."

It would be unrealistic to demand that all lessons feature such authentic exercises, but if we want to teach our students to function in another language, we would do very well to systematically steer our teaching towards such activities which serve to teach not only language but also the social use of language.

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There is at present in the field of language learning and teaching a re-examination of many of its basic tenets and assumptions. This paper is an attempt to re-examine the role and function of structural pattern drills in language learning. The paper proposes a theoretical classification of structural pattern drills, incorporating the implications found relevant, in order to provide a systematic and more efficient working model for the classroom..

A cursory glance at the literature during the last two decades reveals a consistent concern about drills, their function, construction, and role in language teaching. This concern naturally reflects the assumptions about language learning held by the advocates of the approach to teaching foreign language called the audio-lingual method. Language learning is seen as basically a mechanical system of habit formation, strengthened by reinforcement of the correct response: language is verbal, primarily oral, behavior and as such learned only by inducing the students to "behave."

There was relatively little disagreement on the purpose of structural pattern drills in the literature of the past twenty years. Drills "are undertaken solely for the sake of practice, in order that performance may become habitual and automatic," and "make no pretense of being communication."[1] "The function of drill is to provide sufficient repetition in meaningful context to establish correct habitual responses."[2] "The fact that language operates largely on the basis of habit should be obvious to everyone. What is needed is practice that will gradually force the students' attention away from the linguistic problem while forcing them to use language examples that contain the problem. This will engage the habit mechanism and more quickly establish the new habits."[3]

But within the last five or six years [there has been] a definite increase in the demand for some form of meaning and communication in the drills. Wilga Rivers throughout her Teaching Foreign-Language Skills[4] emphasizes the need for meaningful learning and communicative classroom activities. [Many researchers] agree that there are two poles in language learning, i.e., from manipulation to communication, and that in efficient language teaching there needs to be some form of communication built into the drills. For once, there is experimental evidence to suppport this assumption. Oller and Obrecht report on an experiment carried out in a Rochester, New York, high school with the conclusion that "the effectiveness of a given pattern is significantly increased by relating the language of that drill to communicative activity in the teaching/learning process." They conclude that from the very first stages of a foreign language study meaningful communicative activity should be, a, if not the, central point of pattern drills.[5]

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[1] Nelson Brooks, Language and Language Learning (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964), p. 146.

[2] J. Donald Bowen, "Appendix: Pedagogy," in R. P. Stockwell, J. D. Brown, and J. W. Martin, The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 295

[3] Robert Lado, Language Teaching: A Scientific Approach (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 105.

[4] Rivers, Teaching Foreign-Language Skills. (University of Chicago Press, 1968).

To sum up, there are fairly adequate procedural descriptions of types of drills available although we need to consider the implications of recent linguistic theory on new types of drills. There is growing concern with the necessity to teach not only parroting of the teacher but also some form of communication within the classroom. We do not have as yet a generally accepted theoretical framework for classifying structural pattern drills which deals with these problems.

I have attempted to suggest such a conceptual framework; that is, a classification, which recognizes that language learning is partly but not only habit formation, which proposes to put meaning and communication into classroom activities, and to do so in a consistent and orderly procedure. This paper is an attempt to expand and clarify this proposition for classifying drills. We need such a classification for grading and sequencing drills in order to obtain a systematic and more efficient progression in the classroom from mechanical learning to the internalizing of competence. I believe with John Carroll, Wilga Rivers, and others in our field that "there is no reason to believe that the two positions (language teaching as formation of language habits versus the establishment of rule-governed behavior) are mutually exclusive."[6] Rivers points out in a fascinating footnote that many of the language features which are most efficiently taught by drills (person and number inflections, gender agreements, formal features of tense, etc.) "are excluded by Chomsky from his system of rewrite rules and are included in the lexicon as parts of complex symbols."[7]

If, as the evidence seems to suggest, language involves more than one level and there are at least two types of learning,[8] then this should be reflected in the nature and types of drills. Both Stevick and Titone conceive of language learning as a three-stage process, but as Prator points out, there is no way of accurately assigning a drill to a specific stage. My contention is that there are three classes of drills: mechanical, meaningful, and communicative and that we may distinguish these three classes from each other if we analyze the drills in terms of (1) expected terminal behavior (2) degree of response control (3) the type of learning process involved, and (4) criteria for selection of utterance response.

But before I proceed to a discussion of the criteria for classifying drills, we need to consider an important aspect of drills, which cuts across this classification. Many have recognized a basic division in kinds of drills. Etmekjian refers to them as teaching drills and testing drills, Rivers as the teaching phase and the testing phase, and Fries spoke of patterns produced "on the level of conscious choice."[9] What is involved is the difference between drills that serve primarily to help the student memorize a pattern with virtually no possibility for mistake and the drills which test or reinforce the learning of that pattern. The concord of person and verb in the Romance languages serves as a good example for a teaching drill:

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[5] John W. Oller and Dean H. Obrecht. "Pattern Drill and Communicative Activity: A Psycholinguistic Experiment," IRAL, IV:2 (May, 1968) 165-174.

[6] Rivers, Teaching Foreign Language Skills, 78. See also John B. Carroll "Current Issues in Psycholinguistics and Second Language Teaching," TESOL Quarterly, V:2 (June, 1971), 101-114.

[7] Rivers, Teaching Foreign-Language Skills, p. 79.

[8] Rivers, The Psychologist and the Foreign-Language Teacher, pp. 47, 50.

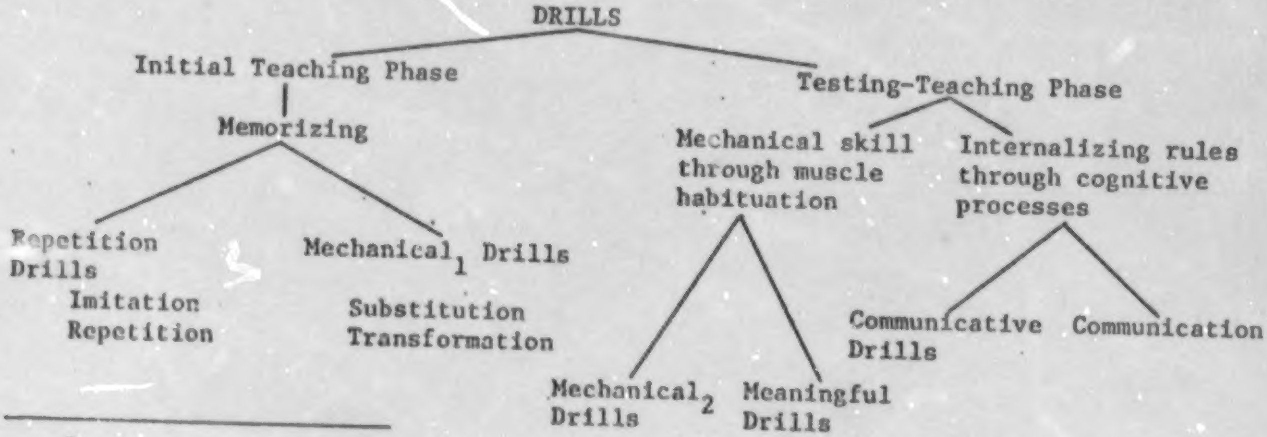
Model:	andar (tu) cantar (tu)	R: andas cantas
Continue the drill:		
Cue:	trabajar (tu) pasar (tu) hablar (tu)	R:

This is a memorizing drills, where even the reader who does not know (or understand) Spanish can complete the drill correctly. But as soon as we change the cues to include all persons, that is, to change the cues so as to require an answer of more than minimal items, we require that the student know all the verb endings for the ar-verbs, present tense, and by his response we know whether he does or not. The response depends on the conscious choice of the student:

Model:	andar (tu) cantar (Vd.)	R: andas canta
Continue the drills:		
Cue:	trabajar (el)	R:

Only the student who has previously memorized these patterns can complete the drill successfully.

I have constructed a tentative design to clarify the over[illegible] division of drills.



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[9] Fries, Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language, p. 9.

Drills are basically divided into teaching (memorizing, habituation) drills and testing (feed back, quizzing) drills. There are two typies of drills to help the student memorzie: Repetition drills and Mechanical[1] drills which basically tend to be substitution drills, but transformation drills are also possible. The testing drills in turn can be divided according to purpose: acquiring mechanical skill through muscle habituation on the one hand and, on the other, internalizing of rules through cognitive processes. The mechanical skill drills subdivide into mechanical[2] and meaningful drills, while the internalizing of competence drills subdivide into communicative drills and actual communication. It can thus be seen that it is possible for mechanical drills to be either testing or teaching drills, depending on their breakdown into minimal items. I mention this before discussion of the three classes -- mechanical, meaningful, and communicative -- of drills because this duality of mechanical drills troubled me for a long time and contributed to some confusion in my previous article.

This chart may make the following discussion somewhat clearer.

	Mechanical Drills	Meaningful Drills	Communicative Drills
Expected terminal behavior	Automatic use of manipulative patterns -- formation of habits	Automatic use of manipulative patterns -- formation of habits still working on habit formation	Normal speech for communication -- free transfer of patterns to appropriate situations
Degree of Control	Complete	Less control but there is a "right answer" expected	No control of lexical items -- some control of patterns. Answer cannot be anticipated
Learning process involved	Learning through instrumental conditioning by immediate reinforcement of correct response ANALOGY	Learning through instrumental conditioning by immediate reinforcement of correct response ANALOGY trial-and-error ANALYSIS	Problem solving ANALYSIS
Criteria for selecting response	Teacher	Teacher, situation, readings (knowledge common to the class)	Student himself (new information about real world)

A mechanical drill is defined as a drill in which there is complete control of the response and only one correct way of responding. Because of the complete control, the student need not even understand the drill, although he responds correctly, as in the first Spanish drill. One might possibly consider repetition drills as the most extreme example of this class of drill, but substitution drills are the most typical of this class. The difference between a mechanical memorizing drill and a mechanical testing drill lies in the ability of the student to respond, again depending on how well he has memorized certain patterns; but understanding what he is saying is not a ncessary requisite. It is perfectly possible to supply a verb with a correct ending, e.g., in Spanish, without necessarily knowing what the verb means given the cue: *gratar (nosotros), any docile student will respond with *gratamos; and he, no more than I, will know the meaning of that nonsense word. The ability to practice mechanical drills without necessarily understanding them is an important criterion in distinguishing them from meaningful drills.

Transformation drills may be mechanical:

John kicked the door.
The door was kicked by John.

All the student need memorize is the structural change, and he can complete such a drill without understanding exactly what he is saying. Response drills, which so frequently are being masqueraded as communication, can be some of the easiest mechanical drills for the student:

Which would you prefer, tea or coffee?
wine or beer?
nectar or ambrosia?

I know very well that the student is going to answer ambrosia without the foggiest notion of what it is.

The expected terminal behavior of such drills is the automatic use of manipulative patterns and is commensurate with the assumption that language learning is habit formation. It involves the classical Skinnerian method of learning through instrumental conditioning by immediate reinforcement of the right response. Learning takes place through analogy and allows transfer of identical patterns. This is clearly the mechanical level of learning, and this class of drills provides practice in mechanical associations such as adjective-noun agreement, verb-endings, question-forms, and the like. This is a very necessary step in language learning; and as long as the student is learning, he won't mind the mechanical nature of the drill. The teacher needs to remember that the student can drill without understanding and to make sure that in fact he does understand. Because of the response control, it is eminently suited for choral drills.

The student knows how to select his utterance response on the basis of the teacher's cue, be it oral or pictorial; but the teacher is the sole criterion for supplying the correct response. This becomes an important distinction between meaningful and communicative drills.

Much of the criticism of the audio-lingual method is based on the mechanical drill or rather the over-use to which it has been put. There are a number of

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psychological studies which demonstrate that there is a limit to the efficiency of mechanical drills in language learning. While not denying the need for mechanical drills, we may note that on the mechanical level alone the student certainly cannot yet express his own ideas fluently. He next needs to work through a set of meaningful drills.

1. Teacher: He's outside.
   Student 1: Where is he?
   Student 2: He's outside.
2. Teacher: He's eating.
   Student 1: What's he doing?
   Student 2: He's eating.
3. He's at home.
4. He's going home.

(Note that Student 2's response is not meaningful; it is repetition.)

In a meaningful drill there is still control of the response although it may be correctly expressed in more than one way and as such less suitable for choral drilling. There is a right answer and the student is supplied with the information necessary for responding, either by the teacher, the classroom situation, or the assigned reading; but in all cases the teacher always knows what the student ought to answer. Everyone is always aware that these drills are only language exercises and that any answer will do as well as another as long as it is grammatically correct and conforms to the information supplied. The student cannot complete these drills without fully understanding structurally and semantically what he is saying. I have attempted very hard to exclude lexical meaning from structural in the definition of meaningful drills, but I doubt that it is either possible or desirable. With the new license for mentalism I shall include both. The result is that some pattern drills come very close to being vocabulary drills. Compare the above "Which would you rather have, tea or coffee?" with "Which would you rather be, rich and healthy or sick and poor?" In other words, some meaningful drills may have the check for feedback which shows that the student really understands the pattern built into the lexical components.

Comprehension type question and answers based on assigned readings fall in this class of drills:

Teacher: What color is Little Red Ridinghood's hood?
Student: Little Red Ridinghood's hood is red.

as well as much "situational" teaching as in this drill on post-nominal modification using prepositional phrases, where the students were instructed to describe each other:

Teacher: Which boy is in your class?
Student: The thin boy with long sideburns.
The handsome boy with black hair.

It will be noticed that in the question-answer drill above, the long answers were given. The expected terminal behavior is the same as for mechanical drills. We still want an automatic use of language manipulation; we are still working on habit formation. But the method is different. Mechanical drills by their nature can be drilled without grammatical analysis with the students left to "analogize" the pattern on their own. This is not possible with meaningful drills. Unless the student understands what he is doing, i.e., recognizes the characteristic features involved in the language manipulation, he cannot complete the drill. Politzer reports of an interesting experiment in "The Role and Place of the Explanation in the Pattern Drill" and points out that any early introduction of the explanation seems to be a more effective treatment than its postponement or omission and that it is preferable to show the application and relevance of the new materials in some sort of context before explaining it.[10] The place for the explanation then is following the mechanical drills; those students who grasped the analogy will be rewarded with positive reinforcement and those who did not will be helped to understand the specific characteristics of that language structure.[11] The learning process varies depending on the structural pattern drilled, and while there may still be instrumental conditioning involved, there is very often a trial-and-error process involved in finding the correct response.

At this point, however, there is still no real communication taking place. Students have a tendency to learn what they are taught rather than what we think we are teaching. If we want fluency in expressing their own opinion, then we have to teach that. The expected terminal behavior in communicative drills is normal speech for communication or, if one prefers, the free transfer of learned language patterns to appropriate situations.

The degree of control in a communicative drill is a moot point. I originally stated that there is no control of the response, that the student has free choice to say whatever he wants. However, this turns out not to be true. All classroom teachers, using this system of sequencing drills, have reported that there is indeed control, not of lexical items as we had at first thought but of structural patterns. The difficulty lies in retaining this control so that the students indeed practice what they have learned; they themselves lose trace of the fact that they are drilling and become engrossed in exchanging information. But it is a drill rather than free communication because we are still within the realm of the cue-response pattern.

To recapitulate, the differences between a meaningful drill and communicative drill lie in the expected terminal behavior (automatic use of language manipulation versus free transfer of learned language patterns to appropriate situations) and in response control. But the main difference between a meaningful drill and a communicative drill is that in the latter the speaker adds new information about the real world. In mechanical and meaningful drills the teacher and the class always know what answer to expect; although the grammatical patterns used to encode the information may vary, the content is already known and there is a right or wrong answer. No one ever forgets that these drills are only language exercises; in the real world it would seem foolish to ask questions the answer to which you already know. The answer to "What color is your shirt?" is merely meaningful; the situation supplies that information, and the teacher knows the answer as well as the student. But the answer to "Do you have a date for Saturday night?" is communicative; here the class gets a piece of information it did not have before.

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[10] Robert L. Politzer, "The Role and Place of the Explanation in the Pattern Drill," IRAL, VI: 4 (November 1968): 315-331.

[11] Richard Barrutia, "Some Pedagogical Dangers in Recent Linguistic Trends," IRAL, IV: 3 (1966): 157-164.

Communicative drills are the most time consuming and the most difficult to arrange, but if we want fluency in expressing personal opinions, we must teach that. Role playing within a set situation -- ordering a meal, carrying on a telephone conversation, buying groceries -- is one way of working with communicative drills. Soliciting opinions rather than factual answers from reading passages is another. The simplest way of working with communicative drills is just to instruct students to answer truthfully.

GUIDED REPLY

1. Do you read the *Daily News* editorials?

   No. The *Times* is the paper whose editorials I read.
   The paper whose editorials I read is the *Times*.

2. Are you familiar with Burma's problems?

   No. Thailand is the country whose problems I am familiar with.
   The country whose problems I am familiar with is Thailand.

3. Did you fly over here on a United Airlines plane?

4. Are you taking Professor Wiley's course?

Communicative drills provide John Carroll's "'problem-solving' situation in which the student must find...appropriate verbal responses for solving the problem, 'learning' by a trial-and-error process, to communicate rather than merely to utter the speech patterns in the lesson."[12] We are clearly working within a level of language that involves thought and opinion and teaching it in a way which necessitates an understanding of the essential elements of what is being learned. It is a very different experience from mechanical drilling. It is practice in performance by practice in generating new utterances in order to internalize the rules of the grammar.

To summarize, in teaching languages we need to take each pattern systematically through a sequence of mechanical, meaningful, and communicative drills, not leaving out any one step. Mechanical drills are especially necessary in beginning courses and in learning languages markedly different from the native tongue. But I doubt that any amount of mechanical drills will lead to competence in a language, i.e., fluency to express one's own opinions in appropriate situations; and if that is our objective, then we must also employ meaningful and communicative drills in our teaching.

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[12] John B. Carroll, *The Study of Language* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 188.

Terrell, Tracy D. "A Natural Approach to Second Language Acquisition and Learning." In Modern Language Journal. 61 (1977): 325-337.

My purpose is to suggest a more "natural" approach to the teaching of a second language (L2) in an academic situation. I have used the adjective "natural" since most of the support for the suggestions I will make stems from observations and studies of second language acquisition in natural, i.e., non academic, contexts. Not all of these suggestions of this approach to the acquisition of L2 in academic contexts are new of course; however, I believe that a combination of all of them results in a course which is strikingly different from those with which I have been acquainted.

The organization of this paper is as follows. First, I will briefly sketch the view of communicative competence and language acquisition in the context of academic L2 learning which underlies this approach. I will then turn to a discussion of three basic guidelines. Finally, I will discuss some practical implications of these guidelines with regard to classroom teaching.

Communicative Competence

My premise is that it is possible for students in a classroom situation to learn to communicate in a second language. This assertion may surprise those who would argue that this is indeed already the premise of L2 teaching in most institutions. However, there are many who question "whether any significant level of communicative competence may be attained in the very constraining environment of the classroom" (Valdman 1975:424). This same writer further suggests that the goal of communication "may best be deferred to more advanced levels of instruction and to special purpose courses." In addition, the final products of most of our language classes unfortunately support this suggestion. The reality is that the majority of our students in one and two year language courses do not attain even a minimal level of communicative competence. In most first year courses a very small part of the time is spent on actual communication; most of the efforts are directed toward exercises and drills to teach morphology and syntax. It is highly doubtful, however, that the amount of structure (morphology and syntax) which is taught in most first year language courses (first and second year for high schools) is in any real sense absolutely essential for normal communication with native speakers. Furthermore, it is probably true that normal first year language students are not capable of learning to control in their speech the immense amount of grammatical complexity taught in most classes in a single year.

The key to any discussion of this topic is an agreement on the definition of "communicative competence." I use this term to mean that a student can understand the essential points of what a native speaker says to him in a real communicative situation and can respond in such a way that the native speaker interprets the response with little or no effort and without errors that are so distracting that they interfere drastically with communication. I suggest that the level of competence needed for minimal communication acceptable to native speakers is much lower than that supposed by most teachers. Specifically, I suggest that if we are to raise our expectations for oral competency in communication we must lower our expectations for structural accuracy.

Let us assume that the primary goal is communicative competence. For the purposes of listening comprehension, morphology is by necessity ignored by the language learners at beginning levels. Syntactic differences are noticed only in so far as they differ drastically from L1, and even these differences cause little problem for comprehension if the major lexical items of the sentence are known, and if the sentence is uttered in a meaningful context. With regard to production, only on rare occasions will errors in surface morpho-syntax such as verb-subject or noun-adjective agreement, cause the native speaker difficulties. Errors with the elaborate case system of German, or the gender and number agreement systems of the Romance languages, normally cause no interpretation difficulties by a native speaker if the sentence is uttered in a meaningful context. Most of the problems in interpretation stem from the fact that the sentences uttered in the classroom by the teacher or student have no communicative context since they are created for the practice of some morphological or syntactical item being studied.

The preoccupation with grammatical correctness in early stages of L2 teaching is essentially a felt need of language teachers and is not an expectation of either language learners or most native speakers of L2 who with a few notable exceptions are usually quite happy to deal with foreigners making any sort of effort to speak their language.

Second Language Acquisition

The student at any point in a natural L2 acquisition process possesses a developing system of grammar rules which parallel to adult grammars permits him to process input in L2 and to make appropriate responses. At first this grammar is extremely rudimentary. Most probably the first governing principle is to "string the known and appropriate lexical items together in more or less the same order as L1 or in the order in which the words are thought of." The sets of grammatical principals termed by Nemser (1971) "approximative system," by Corder (1971) "idiosyncratic dialect," and by Selinker (1972) "interlanguage," evolves in the direction of the adult speaker. At any point in time, however, the output cannot be expected to be perfect. On the other hand, in the traditional classroom the student expands his grammar one rule at a time, learning each as perfectly as possible and progressing from a simple to a more complex output. The output at any one point is restricted but as grammatical as possible. In natural L2 acquisition the output is as varied as possible and expresses quite complex ideas at all times. It is the grammaticality of the utterances which increases with time and experience.

If communicative competence is an immediate goal, we must establish as quickly as possible a large lexicon with very general syntax rules. Vocabulary acquisition is relatively simple. It also gives the student the ability to comprehend utterances and at least some ability to respond in real communicative situations. Once the student is communicating, however imperfectly, the teacher can then direct the materials and experiences toward the development of the student grammar ("interlanguage") in the direction of the adult grammar.

Learning and Acquisition

Language knowledge stems from two sources: what is learned and what is acquired. Learning is the conscious process of studying and intellectually understanding the grammar of L2. Acquisition, on the other hand, refers to the unconscious absorption of general principles of grammar through real experiences of communication using L2. It is the basis for most first language ability and in terms of L2 is commonly known as "picking up a language."

In most L2 classrooms the emphasis is on learning, not acquisition. However, since no one has ever completely described the grammar of a language much less taught it to anyone, all L2 ability must also involve acquisition. The most obvious incontestable example of acquisition is the ability to "pick up" a native-like pronunciation with minimal exposure. Not all students are equally adept at acquisition, but the important point is that while acquisition is present to some degree in all L2 ability, learning may or may not have played a major role.

If we consider the diverse situations in which adults communicate in second languages, it is probably true that most second languages are not learned in academic situations, but acquired naturally. A speaker of one language must use another in the market place. Often one language is used at home and in everyday communication, but another must be learned for educational or business purposes. In many cases the adult speaker has moved to another language area, and must learn that language for much of his or her daily communication, as is the case for most immigrants. The main point is that people of all ages and backgrounds do acquire second languages very often without the help of formal education or special courses. One factor common to all of these situations is that language learning takes place when there is a real need and motivation for it. There is no doubt that the ability to acquire a second language perfectly decreases as one grows older, but the overwhelming empirical evidence from L2 learners in cultures all over the globe in the most diverse situations shows that adults can acquire languages and that indeed the acquisition of other languages in some societies may be the norm (Hill, 1970).

L2 acquisition in adults may be quite similar although not identical to L2 acquisition by children. Bailey, Madden, and Krashen (1974) found that adults acquire grammatical morphemes in the same way as do children (using Dulay and Burt's study (1973)); they concluded that "children and adults use common strategies and process linguistic data in fundamentally similar ways."

Taylor (1973:34) after a review of the relevant research concludes that "what may be necessary for the adult to acquire real native proficiency in a second language is a persevering motivation, the desire to identify with another cultural group integratively and the ability to overcome the emphatic barriers set up by ego boundaries." He added that "it seems likely that affective psychological variables may constitute the major reason why adults are not always as successful as children in language acquisition." Evidence from Gardner and Lambert (1972), Guiora (1971) and Nida (1971) indicate that a positive attitude with regard to affective variables may not only be necessary to acquire language, but that it may actually function independently of factors such as aptitude and intelligence.

The evidence at this point indicates then that the primary factors which influence L2 acquisition are affective not cognitive. Therefore, the overriding consideration in all of the components of any natural approach must be to make the student feel at ease during activities in the classroom.

In summary, I have suggested that (1) immediate communicative competence (not grammatical perfection) be the goal of beginning language instruction, (2) instruction should be directed to modifying and improving the students' grammar (rather than building it one rule at a time), (3) students should be given the opportunity to acquire language (rather than be forced to learn it), and (4) affective (not cognitive) factors are primary forces operating in language acquisition.

In the following section I will discuss some practical guidelines designed to implement these suggestions.

Guidelines for a natural approach to L2 teaching

(1) Distribution of learning and acquisition activities. All teachers have tried to deal with the problem of how much time to dedicate in the classroom to the various sorts of activities which are involved in gaining communicative competence. For purposes of discussion I have classified these activities into three groups: explanation, practice, and application. Activities of explanation and practice (drills, exercises, etc.) are of course mostly directed to learning, not acquisition. Application may involve both learning and acquisition.

Methods differ, sometimes drastically, with regard to the amount of time spent on each activity and the manner in which each kind of activity is approached. Even the order of presentation may be different. For example, in the early days of audio-lingualism it was recommended that practice precede explanation (habits established before the generalization, to use the jargon of the period). There are differences of opinion on which language, L1 or L2, to use for the explanation, and what sorts of practice are useful (pattern drills, written exercises, translation, etc.). In most cases, the teacher directs the learning process and all three components (explanation, practice, and application) are covered first in the classroom. Out-of-class activities are generally restricted to practice of various sorts. In the audio-lingual approach it was important that this out-of-class practice not involve new elements.

Since the teacher takes the responsibility for explanation, practice and application (in addition to the emphasis on correctness in speech), most of the classroom time is necessarily spent on explanation and practice, and very little on communicative situations in which the student may use what he has learned. Nor do I see any way of changing this pattern, if the teacher must assume responsibility for all explanation and practice in the classroom.

In fact, I claim that the situation in most beginning L2 classrooms is even worse than I have implied. In most if not all approaches the learning of the "form" of the sentences, i.e., correct morphology and syntax, becomes the focal point for almost all class activities. Even on those rare occasions in which the student manages to escape from a drill activity in an interesting topic, the teacher's response is usually "muy bien" or "sehr gut," once again underlining to the student the fact that he was interested more in the form of the utterance than its content.

There can be no real change in this pattern unless a change in attitude is made toward the relative importance of communication versus correct form at this level. If communication is more important then it follows that most if not all classroom activities should be designed to evoke real communication. In fact, unless the students live in an area in which L2 is spoken, it is only in the classroom that the student will have a chance to exercise any natural ability to acquire the language.

For these reasons, I suggest that the entire class period be devoted to communicative activities. Explanation and practice with form is essential if we expect any improvement in the output of the students' developing grammars, but they can be done for the most part outside of class. This outside work must be carefully planned and highly structured. The explanations must be clear enough to be understood by most of the students without using classroom time. Exercises must be self-correcting or, at least, a liberal use made of keys for correction. Specific assignments should be completed, collected, and evaluated in some systematic way.

The student should realize that the primary responsibility is his for improvement in the quality of his output. The teacher can provide the materials, guidance where needed, and even some extra motivation in the form of quizzes or tests, but it is the student who must decide when and where to improve his speech by implementing what he has learned. It should be remembered that conscious knowledge of structure does not automatically lead to the ability to use that knowledge in speech. This often takes a considerable amount of time.

(2) Error correction. Much has been written on error correction (Cohen, 1975). However, there is no evidence which shows that the correction of speech errors is necessary or even helpful in language acquisition. Most agree that the correction of speech errors is negative in terms of motivation, attitude, embarrassment and so forth, even when done in the best of situations.

Even Valdman who voiced the opinion that errors should not be tolerated in formal language learning (Valdman, 1975:423-424) admits that "in a natural setting, communicative competence may be achieved despite deviation from surface structure well formedness." In normal second language acquisition the speech of a learner is almost never corrected.

On a practical level it must be recognized that the possibility of carrying on an intelligent conversation with students in L2 without errors is close to zero. For the beginning student it is doubtful that even one sentence will be well-formed unless the topic of conversation is severely limited. This is to be expected; the student is working from a partial grammar in the process of development; output is limited in all components. If the student's speech at this stage is corrected he will soon learn that he will be able to respond adequately only in very severely restricted contexts; certainly no added remarks will ever pass the teacher's inspection. Consequently, most students avoid trying to communicate anything which goes beyond simple direct answers. Communication in the real world with native speakers bears little resemblance to this sort of classroom exchange.

I suggest that error correction be done only in written assignments which focus specifically on form and never during oral communication. As far as I am aware, only Halley and King (1971) have ever proposed to eliminate entirely the correction of speech errors from the classroom. This sort of proposal would be impossible of course in a class which is based on the drilling form.

A student should be encouraged to say new and interesting things with the knowledge that he will never be embarrassed in front of his peers. This kind of communication in a second language depends entirely on the imagination and creativity of the teacher and an ability to interact in real communication with the students.

(3) Response in both L1 and L2. In most L2 classrooms the student is completely immersed the first day in the use of all of the components of a grammar. For the audiolingualists, this usually means a dialog and pronunciation drills. For practitioners of the direct method, it means simple questions and answers using correct pronunciation and structure. The possibilities of any real communication for the first few weeks are virtually nil in these approaches. The natural insecurity of a new classroom, new peers, a new teacher, and a new subject is compounded by possible failure in any or all components of the grammar itself: the student may not comprehend what the teacher said, he may make pronunciation errors and structure errors, and he will probably be corrected for both.

A situation in which the learner is overwhelmed in this manner with new information rarely happens in natural second language acquisition since he can usually begin his acquisition of L2 by spending a large number of hours simply listening to the language, avoiding direct participation in a conversation. Slowly, he can become accustomed to rhythm, intonation, pronunciation, and so forth. He has time to acquire a basic vocabulary. His strategy is to try to grasp the meaning of a sentence with the lexical items he recognizes without understanding all of the lexical items in the sentence or its grammatical structure. Indeed at first, he may not pay attention to any structure at all, except perhaps for word order. His initial responses are normally very short, and in general the learner tries to gain experience with comprehension until he feels more confident in understanding the questions or comments addressed to him. He may spend many hours listening to speech which does not require complete comprehension or a direct response.

It would be nearly impossible to duplicate completely this sort of situation in a classroom. But we can concentrate first on listening comprehension. I suggest that the student be allowed to respond in his native language. If the student is permitted to concentrate entirely on comprehension by permitting response in L1, he can rapidly expand his listening comprehension abilities to a wide variety of topics and still be comfortable in the communication process. There is no evidence that the use of L1 by the student retards in any way the acquisition of L2. Indeed my experience has been that it speeds up this process since it allows for concentration on one component at a time.

In summary I have suggested three general guidelines which could facilitate L2 acquisition for communicative competence: (1) all classroom activities should be devoted to communication with focus on content, (2) no speech errors should be corrected, and (3) students should feel free to respond in L1, L2 or any mixture of the two.

I will turn to a more detailed discussion of the techniques used in a natural approach to teach the various aspects of language skill.

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Comprehension

Virtually all teachers of a second language realize that listening comprehension (and reading, for that matter) of a second language is a matter of learning to comprehend what is being heard (or read) without knowing all of the structure or all of the lexical items of the sentence. This is true for all second language contact up to the very last stages of perfection of the second language ability.

Although this fact is known usually through personal experience to almost all language teachers, the complex process of learning how to comprehend an idea without understanding all of the components of the sentence is rarely explained in any detail, much less explicitly taught to the students. In fact, the opposite is usually true. The language is simplified by the teacher so that the student can with normal effort understand all of the elements of the sentence. Students are rarely confronted with situations which approach real life language use, or if such situations arise, the teacher and students simply dismiss the noncomprehension by explaining that the sample of language was too advanced, i.e., "they haven't studied that yet." The idea is that if one studies the grammar long enough, he will someday magically understand the language. This is not true, but we continue to teach as if it were. Few textbooks deal in any systematic way with the teaching of comprehension in terms of grasping the idea of a sentence without complete comprehension of all of the elements in it. The question is how we can aid the natural process of the acquisition of listening comprehension abilities.

An adequate explanation of what the student is expected to do and assurances that he can be successful are indispensable. The student should be told at the very beginning that he will hear a lot of L2 which he will not understand and that this is both natural and necessary. It can be demonstrated to him that, with a moderate amount of attention to certain cues, essentially lexical at first, that he will be able to follow the gist of the utterance he hears. The main objective in the first class sessions is to convince the student that he can understand utterances in the second language and that he can be comfortable with only a partial understanding of the components which make up the utterances.

The teacher may do several things on a practical level to achieve these goals. For example, he may set the context for the communication by beginning in English (or whatever the native language happens to be), and then switch naturally to L2, accompanied by gestures, diagrams, visual aids, and so forth. His speech does not necessarily have to be slow, but it should be as expressive as possible lingering on key words or phrases. From time to time he may have to add a few words by mixing naturally the native language (in somewhat the way bilinguals normally mix two languages) to clarify key points in the narrative. The main objective is that the student hear 90 percent or so in L2, and believe that he understands what he hears. Even if this is not strictly true, with enough experience it will be. It cannot be stressed enough that building a toleration for listening to a second language which one is only partially understanding is not especially easy; however, the satisfaction the student derives from comprehension usually ameliorates the tension caused by the hearing of unfamiliar lexical items and structure.

The learning of vocabulary is the key to comprehension and speech production. With a large enough vocabulary the student can comprehend and speak a great deal of L2 even if his knowledge of structure is for all practical purposes nonexistent. It would be difficult to underestimate the extremes that the foreign language teaching profession has gone to in emphasizing grammar. For example, Dalbor (1972) has this piece of advice for the beginner: "If you are a typical foreign language student...you probably tend to worry a great deal about vocabulary. Please don't, because it is the least important aspect of your study..." Bolinger (1970:78) comments that "this bit of doctrine has been preached to students for half a century, but I doubt that anyone but a first-year dropout has ever been convinced by it." I might add that if most teachers don't believe it, they certainly operate as if they do. Bolinger says that anyone who has mastered a foreign language knows well that the majority of time is spent mastering the lexicon of that language. He further suggests that "the quantity of information in the lexicon far outweighs that in any other part of the language, and if there is anything to the notion of redundancy it should be easier to reconstruct a message containing just the words than one containing just the syntactic relations. The significant fact is the subordinate role of grammar. The most important thing is to get the words in." The student's first task is to learn a large number of common words so that he can understand what the teacher is saying to him. Words in common semantic groups are easiest to learn. For example, one might say, "Let's think of things we see in our homes every day." If the word "table" is suggested, the teacher repeats the word several times in L2 and uses the word in sentences, talking naturally about tables, what they're used for, kinds and varieties, what can be put on top of them, and maybe an incident in which a table figures. The main point is that the students follow the gist of the conversation, and that as the conversation proceeds, other important words are also explained and added to the list the students will memorize. I have found that college students can learn to recognize twenty-five words a day with little difficulty. (For younger or older students this figure would have to be reduced.) This amounts to a minimum of 100-125 words per week so that in four weeks it may be possible for the student to recognize 500 words of more, which is certainly sufficient to understand many conversations.

Production

I have suggested that the student should be allowed to respond in L1 or in any combination of L1 and L2. When, then, will the student begin to speak the second language? The answer must be: whenever he makes a decision to do so, i.e., whenever his self image and ease in the classroom is such that a response in the second language will not produce anxiety. The most common reaction to this suggestion is that students will never reach this stage unless forced to do so. I claim that this possibility is a product of the student's fear of the teacher's expectation of complete manipulation of the various components of the grammar plus fear of correction. Peer pressure from those who begin to use L2 successfully can be a strong factor in encouraging progress.

There are positive results of allowing the student to respond in the first language. Most importantly the standard problem of embarrassment is reduced considerably if not almost entirely eliminated. This point cannot be emphasized too much. The fear of ridicule by peers is very great in an L2 classroom, especially on the high school level (although adults are not immune to this phenomenon.) Much of this fear comes from being required to produce new sounds without having had a sufficient amount of time to absorb the system naturally. This should never happen if the student is allowed to choose the occasion in which he will attempt to respond in L2. My experience is that for college students the switch to L2 is made after about one week.

The key to the student's progress is his success in communication. In the classroom success should mean exactly what it does outside the classroom: the communication was understood and responded to in an understandable fashion. As I have stressed, at no point in the natural communication process does error correction play a significant role. If the response is totally incomprehensible, the teacher may request a clarification of the idea exactly in the same manner as if the exchange had taken place outside the classroom in a real life situation.

There is another important difference between second language presentation in the classroom and natural second language acquisition. In the classroom short answers to questions are discouraged and answers in complete sentences (so that the student can practice) are encouraged. For example, the student is asked, "Where is the book?" and he replies, "The book is on the table." A more normal response is "It's on the table" or simply "on the table."

Students should be encouraged to respond in any way they wish to the stimuli of the teacher: short answer, long answer or no answer at all. They should be permitted to use their native language, the second lnaguage, or any mixture of the two. The goal is that the teacher produce a meaningful utterance (but not just meaningful in an abstract sense) and that the student respond in any way his partial grammar (or no grammar at all for the first few days) permits. The teacher focuses always and only on the exchange of ideas and away from the form of the communication. By using both languages, communication can take place even the first day without resorting to interchanges of the most inane variety which by necessity must occur if the student is forced to respond "correctly" in L2.

I do not mean to suggest that the classroom activities not be organized. Structure which is studied by the students outside the classroom cannot be applied unless there are opportunities to communicate using these structures. For example, the teacher may wish to focus the conversation on past tense(s) by asking the students to describe their actions of the previous day. In order to elicit different "person-number" combinations the students may be divided into groups and instructed to find out what others did at some past time and then report this to the class using L2. Good teachers in all approaches have always been able to focus certain types of structure covertly in classroom conversation. The important point is that the opportunities are presented to the students to acquire and use these structures in a natural way in the classroom restricting exercises and drills to outside class activities.

An important part of language acquisition and learning is the use of "strategies" by the student in order to generate sentences which go beyond the student's grammatical capabilities. Given that in the production of any utterance a student must focus attention on (1) message, (2) lexical items, (3) structure, and (4) pronunciation, the learning of details of complex grammatical rules is mostly a hindrance to communication. For this reason general strategies or rule approximations are extremely helpful on a practical level to further communication of the message, and on an affective level to enhance the students' own self confidence in his ability to speak using L2.

In our pilot Spanish classes, we have organized the teaching of verb forms from general use of a single form, the third person singular, through various stages of more and more discrimination (Terrell, 1977). In the case of gender assignment, we encourage them to follow the following strategy: if the word ends in -a, assign it feminine gender; assign all other words masculine gender. At a more advanced stage when they begin to use many words in -cion and -d, these can be added as a part of the rule. Finer distinctions can be added as the fluency allows.

In languages like German or Russian with case systems, the student would do well to speak with one case form (probably the nominative) at first and then begin to distinguish other forms as his fluency, and therefore time to process grammar rules, increases.

It should be kept in mind that grammars of different students will evolve at different rates. For example, one student may finally be able to master present versus past distinctions (at least in first person singular forms) in his speech, while another still relies on adverbs to signal past tense. Both may have "learned" the past tense paradigm and be able to produce the forms for tests, but in the case of the second student, his level of overall fluency does not allow for time to generate past tense forms.

It is a mistake to believe that students can become proficient enough to use the large number of detailed grammar rules in their speech which are taught in a first year class. They can, however, learn general strategies which will reduce the number of errors made.

Reading and Writing

There is of course no "natural" approach to the teaching of reading and writing a second language. However, although our goal is oral communication, most students also wish to read and write the language they study. In addition, reading and writing provide opportunities to expand the topics of conversation, facilitating thereby vocabulary acquisition, and to reinforce both the learning and acquisition processes. It should be noted that if vocabulary acquisition is emphasized instead of grammar, the student is able to read simple prose after only a few weeks of study. Likewise, real compositions are possible much earlier if the student is not judged on the basis of grammaticality.

Testing

If communication is the goal, then it is the overall ability to communicate, not grammatical accuracy, which must be tested. This is not easy to do, of course; but to resort to grading based on grammatical accuracy is to avoid our responsibilities. Judgments of fluency will in many cases be subjective; however, if we cannot make those judgments with a reasonable degree of accuracy, then our title as teacher of a second language means very little.

In a course in which oral communication is the goal, the test must be oral. This is difficult when one has many students, but the problem must be faced. Some are fortunate enough to have laboratories with cassette machines on which the individual responses of each student to an oral exam may be recorded. In other cases, the final may have to be conducted on an individual basis. However the logistics are solved, it is clear that written grammar tests are no measure of oral fluency -- either comprehension or production.

Conclusions

I have argued that the goal of most students studying a second language in an academic situation is to acquire the ability to communicate effectively in that language. There is ample evidence that many teachers, but not native speakers or language learners, define effective communication as near perfection in structure and phonology, and thus doom the student to ultimate failure. I have suggested that students be given the chance to acquire language as well as to learn it. To this end I have proposed three guidelines: (1) students should be permited to use L1 (with L2) in the initial stages of learning to comprehend L2, (2) students' speech errors should not be corrected and (3) class time should be devoted entirely to communication experiences, relegating learning activities to outside the classroom. A reappraisal of the goals of foreign language teachers to bring them in line with students' and native speakers' expectations is long overdue. Most adults can learn to communicate effectively in a second language if they are given the opportunity to do so.

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A serious problem for the adult second language acquirer is how to obtain real intake outside the second language classroom. As Wagner-Gough and Hatch (1975) have pointed out, native speakers often provide input that is not appropriate for language acquisition; it is too complex, frequently too fast, not supported by extra-linguistic cues, and consequently often incomprehensible. It has therefore been suggested that the second language classroom serve the intake needs for second language acquirers (e.g. Krashen, 1976).

I would like to suggest a way of providing additional intake outside the classroom, a method of alerting native speakers to the linguistic needs of second language acquirers: The establishment of a set of buttons, or pins, labelling the wearer as a learner[1] of a certain language. Pins or buttons could be color-coded to indicate level. For example, a green pin, with the designation "English Learner 1" would mean a beginning ESL student. Waiters and waitresses, policemen, bank tellers, and hopefully friendly strangers on the bus would be encouraged to provide the bearer with their version of "mother-ese", or simple input. "English Learner 2" (orange) would invite more complex input. (Two or three levels might be enough.)[2]

Besides alerting the public to the needs of second language acquirers and encouraging them to participate in second language teaching by providing communicative use of the language, the button system has several other advantages:

(1) Since friendly or lonely native speakers might feel (we hope) that a button is an invitation to a conversation, the wearer could take it off when he or she doesn't feel sociable, and put it on when he or she needs it for instrumental purposes (e.g. at the bank).

(2) The L2 acquirer who has been away from the L2 could recycle back to a lower level button until his fluency returns.

(3) Buttons could be used for any L2 in a variety of situations. A French Learner button in a city in the United States might encourage a French-speaking tourist to make friends.

The button system provides a way for the non-aggressive second language acquirer to get the necessary input for language acquisition. Buttons could be commercially produced and cheaply sold, and the companies making them could advertise their availability and use via teachers through journals and newsletters. Free publicity in the media should be easy to obtain.

Let's get the public to help in language teaching.

[1] For the sake of communicating with the public, I will forgo my usual insistence that we differentiate second language "acquisition" and "learning".

[2] Margaret Van Naerssen has suggested a red-yellow-green color coding, in parallel with traffic light use. Red would indicate the beginning level (go very slowly), yellow the intermediate (proceed with caution), and green would be a go-ahead for more complex and rapid input.

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Every game is composed of two parts, an outer game and an inner game. The outer game is played against an external opponent to overcome external obstacles, and to reach an external goal. Mastering this game is the subject of many books offering instructions on how to swing a racket, club or bat, and how to position arms, legs or torso to achieve the best results. But for some reason most of us find these instructions easier to remember than to execute.

It is the thesis of this book that neither mastery nor satisfaction can be found in the playing of any game without giving some attention to the relatively neglected skills of the inner game. This is the game that takes place in the mind of the player, and it is played against such obstacles as lapses in concentration, nervousness, self-doubt and self-condemnation. In short, it is played to overcome all habits of mind which inhibit excellence in performance.

We often wonder why we play so well one day and so poorly the next, or why we clutch during competition, or blow easy shots. And why does it take so long to break a bad habit and learn a new one? Victories in the inner game may provide no additions to the trophy case, but they bring valuable rewards which are permanent and which contribute significantly to one's success thereafter, off the court as well as on.

The player of the inner game comes to value the art of relaxed concentration above all other skills; he discovers a true basis for self-confidence; and he learns that the secret to winning any game lies in not trying too hard. He aims at the kind of spontaneous performance which occurs only when the mind is calm and seems at one with the body, which finds its own surprising ways to surpass its own limits again and again. Moreover, while overcoming the common hang-ups of competition, the player of the inner game uncovers a will to win which unlocks all his energy and which is never discouraged by losing.

There is a far more natural and effective process for learning and doing almost anything than most of us realize. It is similar to the process we all used, but soon forgot, as we learned to walk and talk. It uses the so-called unconscious mind more than the deliberate "self-conscious" mind, the spinal and midbrain areas of the nervous system more than the cerebral cortex. This process doesn't have to be learned; we already know it. All that is needed is to unlearn those habits which interfere with it and then to just let it happen.

Many of our difficulties in tennis are mental in origin. As tennis players we tend to think too much before and during our shots; we try too hard to control our movements; and we are too concerned about the results of our actions and how they might reflect on our self-image. In short, we worry too much and don't concentrate very well. To gain clarity on the mental problems in tennis we introduce the concept of Self 1 and Self 2. Self 1 is the name given to the conscious ego-mind which likes to tell Self 2, the body and unconscious computerlike mind, how to hit the tennis ball. The key to spontaneous, high-level tennis is in resolving the lack of harmony which usually exists between these two selves. This requires the learning of several inner skills, chiefly the art of letting go of self-judgments, letting Self 2 do the hitting, recognizing and trusting the natural learning process, and above all going some practical experience in the art of concentration.

At this point the concept of the Inner Game emerges. Not only can these inner skills have a remarkable effect on one's forehand, backhand, serve and volley (the outer game of tennis) but they are valuable in themselves and have broad applicability to other aspects of life. When a player comes to recognize, for instance, that learning to concentrate may be more valuable to him than a backhand, he shifts from being primarily a player of the outer game to being a player of the Inner Game. Then, instead of learning concentration to improve his tennis, he practices tennis to improve his concentration. This represents a crucial shift in values from the outer to the inner. Only when this shift occurs within a player does he free himself of the anxieties and frustrations involved in being overly dependent on the results of the external game. Only then does he have the chance to go beyond the limitations inherent in the various ego-trips of Self 1 and to reach a new awareness of his true potential. Competition then becomes an interesting device in which each player, by making his maximum effort to win, gives the other the opportunity he desires to reach new levels of self-awareness.

Thus, there are two games involved in tennis: one the outer game played against the obstacles presented by an external opponent and played for one or more external prizes; the other, the Inner Game, played against internal mental and emotional obstacles for the reward of increasing self-realization -- that is, knowledge of one's true potential. It should be recognized that both the inner and outer games go on simultaneously, so the choice is not which one to play, but which deserves priority.

Up to this point we have been exploring the Inner Game as it applies to tennis. Clearly, every human activity involves both the outer and inner games. There are always external obstacles between us and our external goals, whether we are seeking wealth, education, reputation, friendship, peace on earth, or simply something to eat for dinner. And the inner obstacles are always there; the very mind we use in obtaining our external goals is easily distracted by its tendency to worry, regret or generally muddle the situation, thereby causing needless difficulties from within. It is helpful to realize that whereas our external goals are many and various and require the learning of many skills to achieve them, the inner obstacles come from only one source and the skills needed to overcome them remain constant. Self 1 is the same wherever you are and whatever you are doing. Concentration in tennis is fundamentally no different from the concentration needed to perform any task or even to enjoy a symphony; learning to let go of the habit of judging yourself on the basis of your backhand is no different from forgetting the habit of judging your child or boss; and learning to welcome obstacles in competition automatically increases one's ability to find advantage in all the difficulties one meets in the course of one's life. Hence, every inner gain applies immediately and automatically to the full range of one's activities. This is why it is worthwhile to pay some attention to the inner game.